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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE ETHICS OF
INTERVENTIONISM. ~~IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT~~

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

PH. D.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE ETHICS OF INTERVENTIONISM

by



TERRY LEONARD HILL

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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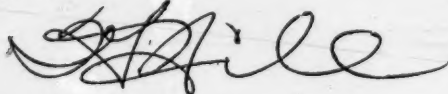
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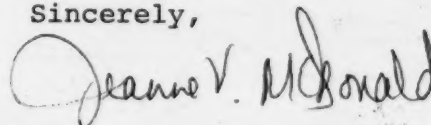
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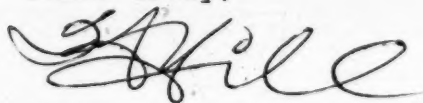
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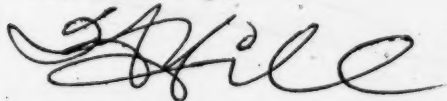
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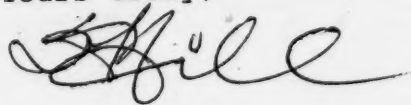
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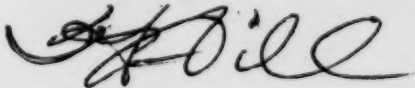
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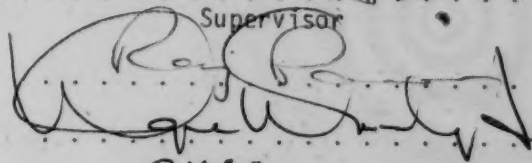
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Tyler Sydney

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the theoretical roles, the ethical behaviour, and the practical roles, of community developers in North America, has not as yet been explored in any depth. This thesis attempts to do so, and offers as a result, some suggested propositions for subsequent detailed study.

It is shown that community developers have multiple and unclear roles in the face of attempts to move towards status as professionals. Models of change agency are examined in terms of pertinent roles for community developers; ethical theory is applied to core types or strategies of role performance - together with theorems from sociology (conflict theory, exchange theory, and symbolic interactionism); and codes of ethics are analysed for their relevance for community developer behaviour and for their power to enforce conformity to rules.

Several case studies are used to demonstrate types of ethical behaviour among community developers (CDers), and a major case study - from the author's own experience - is presented. This latter study shows that CDers do, in fact, experience role dilemmas associated with advocacy functions. Advocacy is seen as a legitimate role for CDers where personal values conflict with employer expectations and client's rights are seen to supercede all others.

Employer deception emerges as a justifiable strategy for CDers who are employed specifically by government agencies but who work with oppressed or disadvantaged groups. Codes of ethics which apply to the professional behaviour of community developers, and by analogy to others in the applied social sciences, are shown to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition, to the effective policing of these field specialists. Other conclusions about factors which affect CDers role performance are also listed.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge with great thanks, the efforts of assistance in proofreading and editorializing provided by my Committee Chairman, Dr. A. K. Davis, Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology.

Also, special appreciation is felt for the help of the following people: Dr. S. Mohsen, Dr. P. Saram, Dr. W. McVey, Dr. R. Wilson, Dr. T. White, and Dr. P. Dubé. Without their encouragement and support, I would no doubt have succumbed long ago under all the pressures associated with being a married student with three children.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, the endless faith in me given by my wife Loretta and my daughters Miranda and Melissa, made this effort all so significant.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis constitutes a theoretical study using case analysis, of the moral aspects of professional intervention in planned social change. The focus is on a North American, specifically Canadian group called "Community Developers" (hereafter termed CDers), and on the ethical nature of methods adopted by these individuals in carrying out community development functions. As a normative-descriptive analysis focussing on socio-philosophical elements of human interaction, this study adopts a micro-level perspective of purposive change. That is, the theatre for change is the community. The actors consist of professionally trained or accredited change agents, their clients and sponsors, and of local citizens. The human dramatizations which occur or could occur, the scripts actors use, the historical circumstances which impinge, the choreography and the tempo of production...all will be looked at. But the focus of the thesis will be upon the role-related responsibilities of the leading performers, the protagonists so-to-speak. The intent, continuing the analogy, is to investigate and rewrite if necessary, these actors roles, assuming the right of an informed audience to see the best show possible (namely, for their taxpaying money).

The central figures are community developers (CDers), a group whose aspirations towards professionalism will also be examined alongside their roles.

Primarily it is the ethical (and unethical) behaviour of these individuals which will be centered out for study. Literature references and case studies will substantiate or clarify my arguments overall, but I will try to show by these sources two things:

1. That CDers must in some instances, for reasons of moral conscience, perform unethical acts in their capacity as a hired or contracted "professional".
2. that CDers, particularly those practicing in Canada lack sanction mechanisms for unprofessional behaviour.

Also, to the extent that CDers refer to themselves as "social scientists", and for the most part are trained as such, they are or soon become confronted with, role ambiguities. These dilemmas of role, in which the values of objectivity and personal belief clash, rendering many important in resolving practicable solutions - comprise a rather "dead - horse" topic in sociology, but one that some insist on flogging (vis. Nettler, Lazarfeld versus Gouldner, Lee). And it continues to be flogged so that the impotence of social scientists generally in affecting social policy or in making changes in social relationships, is removed. At least this is what is said.

In this thesis I too will keep the dead horse alive a bit longer, but not because the solution isn't obvious but because there are those whose professional impotence as agents of change can be curtailed from merely bringing the facts to them, from other examples and personal experience.

The research problem therefore entails shedding light on the roles of CDers as change agents in Canada and the U.S. such that the manner by which these specialists intervene in community affairs will be more in the interests of those most affected by change but often in the least position of power - the taxpaying public.

The motivation for this study of CDer roles arises in part from my direct experience as a Community Development Officer for the Ontario Government (1973-77). It was during this time that I witnessed what I felt was unfair provincial legislation and treatment, for and of, vulnerable publics across Northwestern Ontario. And these government initiatives had a net effect on several CDers attached to the process, of being employees urged by conscience to conspire against their respective employers, i.e., Ontario Government Ministries. But the conspiracy went unstated as such; rather, it was implicit in the collective actions of the CDer group working on the issue to be described in detail later.

Circumscribing the behaviour of CDers in the field are larger issues within the social sciences, which, if resolved would help CDers to interpret and carry out their tasks.

These issues are:

1. the clash of humanistic and positivistic methodologies in applied social science (i.e., pro-action vs. non-involvement);
2. theories of community, especially in sociology, are inconsistent in terms of what constitutes a

'community' and what constitutes 'development'- making 'community development' theory a rather tenuous mish-mash of local, regional or cross-cultural interpretations;

3. strategies of change associated with the dominant theory of community development (i.e. North American) contain few, if any, references to the public accountability of CDers. Nothing is said about what to do if things go wrong. By implication this suggests that problems of malpractice are to be solved locally by ad hoc means, without guidelines or appeal to precedent, or that CDer ethics do not exist, are not acted on, or receive only tacit recognition;
4. the professional organization of CDers-the Community Development Society of America - after a decade of existence does not have a code of ethics governing the behaviour of its members.

Not only would the resolution of these issues help the CDer in the relationships he holds with the public, his sponsoring agency or employer, and his peer associates; but it would also raise the quality of local, democratic decision-making. Depending upon which set of universal principles of professional conduct one wishes to endorse (see for examples, Parsons, Goodenough, Etzioni, Greenwood, Johnson, Wright-Mills, Lippitt & Lippitt, Cary, Rogers, Nettler, Pfeiffer & Jones), how practitioners protect or advance human rights and causes will be influenced accordingly.

As yet there is no one paradigm of behaviour or 'code of ethics' which applies to all professions within applied social science. Nor perhaps could there be (see Ritzer, Kuhn, Lee, Barnes, for discussion). I believe, however, that there should be an over-arching control mechanism such as an enforceable code of ethics, within a single profession (e.g., CD, Social Work, Applied Sociology, Social Planning). I shall attempt to argue this position, among others, in this present study.

Unlike sociology, in which professional improprieties in research, teaching, etc., have been surfacing for censure and/or "review" by peers (e.g., 'Project Camelot'/Horowitz, 1967/, 'Tearoom Trade'/Humphreys, 1970/, CSAA-Simon Fraser University controversy (1969, ff.), community development as a discipline has no historical record of similar debates over ethical or unethical behaviour among its members. And this suggests; a) that there are no ethical mechanisms associated with the development or change process are functioning properly; or b) that for whatever reason, unethical activities of CDers are being suppressed and not publicly dealt with by parties directly or indirectly involved; or c) that such unethical behaviours are not perceived as morally irresponsible by clients, sponsors, or citizens during the intervention period, and hence any action which might be taken occurs after the fact, if at all. I suspect that b) and c) reflect the truth of the matter.

Another task then, of this present study is to clarify these suspicions, and to make informed recommendations as to how they could be erased by altering either the CDers behaviour or factors which bear upon it.

The methodology adopted in the presentation of this thesis is out of the "middle-range", social-action (Weber, Mannheim, McIver, Parsons), humanistic (Wright-Mills, Gouldner, Whyte, McLung Lee) approaches to sociology. It assumes the correctness of Berger and Luckmann's (1963) interpretation of how reality is socially constructed (i.e., externalization-objectification-internalization). It assumes the usefulness of logical, deductive à priori techniques and inductive case-study techniques (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968). Specifically, the methodology consist of an extensive literature review, and an exploratory analysis of several case studies depicting usual forms of community development in North America.

A fundamental assumption I make at the outset, is that no social science methodology has a monopoly on truth or knowledge creation over any other. Sociology for instance, has recently been strongly criticized as not being a science "because its theory language is inadequate, and therefore the dual information transfer (between men and events, and between men as scientists about these events) is inadequate" (Lachenmeyer, 1971:1). Arguments about what is "scientific" and what constitutes knowledge, I believe will only be settled when the immense differences between the rationalist and empiricist approaches are reconciled...

(see Westphal, 1969).

In choosing this topic and developing its arguments
I shall try to support the following related assumptions:

.....that CDers are becoming a strong force
in applied social change at the community
level, (see Appendix F);

.....that this growing professional practice
suffers from possessing only fragmented or
partially developed theories or models of
intervention, and as such does not present
a unified front to public bodies or clients
seeking knowledge and/or skill assistance;

.....that a "humanistic-existential-democratic"
profession is now needed to help safeguard
against the coveting of new knowledge (and
therefore power) by elites, certain powerful
interest groups, 'gatekeepers' (often as
sponsors), and government policymakers;

.....that the alleviation of social problems
should not be a process immune to direct
intervention by social scientists;

.....that those who possess knowledge and/or
skills as a result of professional training
in the social sciences, have a moral obligation
to use them wisely in benefitting mankind;

.....that social scientists (CDers especially)
who practice advocacy, be subject to having

their prescriptions and certain knowledge claims scrutinized by not only their peers (via journals, meeting, etc.) but also by a publicly controlled agency or mechanism (such as a 'Social Science Court');.....that structural-functionalism, conflict theory and social psychology theory (i.e., symbolic interactionism, exchange theory) are useful models, having varying applications, to describe or explain dimensions associated with planned social change and CDer intervention; that professional advocacy is a valid strategy of community intervention.

On another plane, traditional modernization theory (Rostow, Smelser, Eisenstadt) was being challenged by dependency theories of capitalist underdevelopment (A.G. Frank, 1967; Veltmeyer, 1980). The latter took the position that the cause of underdevelopment should not be sought within the internal structures of traditional societies but rather externally, in capitalist market systems and corporate activities.

"The development of some societies and the underdevelopment of others are now studied in terms of a metropolis-satellite model" (Veltmeyer, P. 209). And at the other end of the social interaction spectrum, the infusion of behavioural science techniques into organization development (OD) and change strategies, has given management science a much greater role in determining the degree and quality of decision-

making in local private and public agencies and corporations. Many of these methods are now a core part of CD practitioner training and/or practice, thanks to successful marketing jobs done by such people as Drucker, Argyris, Lippitt, Bradford, Perls, Ellis, Rogers, Pfeiffer & Jones. Thus at both macro- and micro- levels, (rational international management of economies, and human-relations cybernetics, respectively) factors have emerged which have altered traditional development and strategies of professional change agents. The interest here is to what extent skills in human management at the micro- or community level have been assimilated by CDers, and whether their strategies of intervention, are any more or less morally responsible. In other words, has training in "group task" and "group maintenance" processes made a difference in terms of the quality of the change effort and of the behaviour of the CDer?

One of the many impacts of the "counter-cultural" thrust by middle-class youth in the 1960's, has reinforced the attitude that people are ends and not merely means (Rozak). Scientific technology and militarism are no longer the sole valid, practical sources of morality and heroism. Actors within this "Global Village" of ours are becoming more perceptible to one another in terms of their interdependencies, and more suspicious of elites who claim to know the truth. A truly "just" society cannot simply be legislated into existence.

Such attitudes represent a shift towards humanism, at least among the middle class. Subjectivity then, as "the quality that reflects the private and unique experiences of an individual" (Theodorson & Theodorson) is becoming increasingly perceived as an independent variable by non-positivist, micro-level researchers and theorists. In other words, attitudes, values and norms, and not "social facts", "ideal types", or "super-structures", are receiving the attention of a greater proportion of social scientists. In the applied social science of CD, a major underlying assumption has emerged that people can do something about their human condition; that they can mobilize or develop the power to alter their circumstances, given access to certain knowledge, skill, technology, and "political will".

The growth of applied social science has led many practitioners to adopt the social-psychological techniques found in small-group theory and leadership development. Evidence for this shows up in studies concerning local governments and interest-group politics, voluntary organizations and lobby groups, innovation diffusion, social work and social planning programs, and in federal and provincial programs where local responses are solicited. Also these techniques are often used by "social actionist" researchers who not only study actor roles in community conflict and change situations (e.g., by participant observation of "field research"), but who also become "advocates" for their clients, agency or sponsor.

Many applied social scientists are going into advocacy interventions. This level of involvement among CDers will be assessed in this study.

The investigation of the ethical nature of intervention strategies of professional CDers is, therefore, timely and necessary. Obviously not all social scientists can be reviewed in the manageable limits of one study such as this. However, any spin-offs in the form of generalizations about professional conduct which arise out of the conclusions of thematic consistencies of this thesis, will hopefully show that other disciplines need similar scrutiny.

As a former professional community developer for five years in Northern Ontario, attached to several provincial ministries, and as a private community-development consultant for two years in the same region, I had direct dealings in CD activities where ethics played a large part. Therefore, I have chosen to include in this present study, a case study from my own experience as a participant-observer change agent.

Case studies are useful tools in gathering qualitative data and in providing a framework for analytically moving from idiographic to nomothetic postulates. "The case study method gives a unitary character to the data being studied by interlocking a variety of facts to a single case.

It also provides an opportunity for the intensive analysis of many specific details that are often overlooked with other methods. This approach rests on the assumption that the case being studied is typical of cases of a certain type, so that through intensive analysis generalizations may be made which will be applicable to other cases of the same type" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969:38).

Hopefully this thesis will satisfy in part a need, not entirely epistemological in nature, but also pedagogical. As previously mentioned, Community Developers do not as yet have a professional "code of ethics" governing their individual activities in employment. For the training of CDers there are a half-dozen graduate programs in Canada and the U.S. However, almost none of these programs contain courses of instruction in ethics or "field responsibilities". Most knowledge CDers gain in this area appears to be acquired through applied experiences.

What makes the study of ethics in CD intervention strategies important to applied social science has to do with the general trend towards more activist involvement by hired "experts" in community policy-making. Many social scientists perceive certain forms of social action and advocacy/adversarial interventions as increasingly necessary to combat mass-bureaucracy styles of welfare institutions, and to safeguard against elitist oppression.

There remains however, consistent with the humanistic trend, a core group of conceptual models and techniques of community development. For instance, Sanders (1975) describes CD as being a "process", a "method", a "program", a "movement". Christenson (1980) has identified three themes of CD intervention, the "self-help" approach, the "conflict" approach, and the "technical assistance" approach. In a more elaborate scheme of interventions, Campfens (1979) posits four CD types "as points on a continuum moving from an instrumental-individualistic strategy to a policy that deliberately aims to develop communities or communalism".

These types are:

1. the "instrumental-individualistic", stressing self-sufficiency and free enterprise;
2. the "instrumental-communal", stressing group problem-solving over socio-economic and integration issues;
3. the "communal-therapeutic", stressing affective adjustment towards community solidarity and Gemeinschaft-type relations;
4. the "community development", stressing the improvement of communities as settlement areas emphasizing human ecology and formal organization.

These core models of Sanders, Christenson, and Campfens represent the general range of CD strategies.

Community development has been recently defined by
a leading CDer as:

(1) a group of people (2) in a
community (3) reaching a decision
(4) to initiate a social action
process (i.e., planned intervention)
(5) to change (6) their economic,
social, cultural, or environmental
situation.

(Robinson, 1980:12)

There are other similar definitions, but I subscribe basically
to this one.

We now turn to the rise of community development as a
profession.

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER ONE: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A PROFESSION

A. THE RISE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSIONALISM

Here I shall try to describe and explain the utility of relating the rise and meaning of "professionalism" in North America with the growth of "community development" as a now professionally dominated activity. This investigation rests on the assumption that the creation of the Community Development Society (of America) in 1970 was yet another specific instance of the expansion of knowledge-coveting groups throughout western culture.

The usefulness of relating professionalism to community developer(s) lies in how accurately each reflects the other. In other words, the concept "professionalism" has meaning if "professionals" actually exist. Where the correspondence between the concept and its empirical referents is shown to be weak, then the use of the concept to denote actual circumstances or conditions may be called into question. Hence, if a group calls themselves "professionals", then their individual and collective activities should in fact reflect that label and its constituent qualities. Where the behaviour of professionals does not correspond with the concept which defines them, the real-life issues of trust, accountability, rights and duties, and professional ethics may surface to challenge the actions of individual and indirectly the concept of professionalism.

To deny the pervasiveness of professionalism in contemporary western culture is to deny a historical fact. This may be shown by a simple examination of the "Yellow Pages" of any urban telephone book, under "professional associations", "consultants", or under the "trade" name, such as "doctors", "lawyers", "engineers", and so forth. Other ways of detecting the importance of professionalism are open to the reader: A reviewing of statistics on social stratification (e.g.: C. Wright-Mills, 1956; E. D. Baltzell Jr., 1953; Carr-Saunders, 1933; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Etzioni, 1969; Vollmer and Mills, 1966).

Perhaps the best treatment of the historical roots and structural consequences of American professionalism is that given by M. S. Larson's The Rise of Professionalism (1977). She traces the growth of professionalism from the period of the French Revolution to the present, and concludes that:

The professions that were formed in America were clearly inspired by their European models -especially the British - but, obviously, there were structural differences between the New World and the Old which account for many differences in the professional process and in the emergent pattern. Nevertheless, both in England and in the United States, modern professionalization is connected with the same general historical circumstances: it coincides, that is, with the rise of industrial capitalism, with its early crises and consolidation and, toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, with the evolution of capitalism and its corporate form. (p.6)

and...

Emerging themselves with an emergent social order, the professions first had to create a market for their services. Next, and this was inseparable from the first task, they had to gain special status for their members and give them respectability. The organizational devices they used reflected both the new and the traditional social order, drawn as they were from the two different worlds. (p.8)

Larson saw the growth of professionalism as stemming from two ideological sources - one in "entrepreneurialism" and the other in "vocationalism". The former dimension reflected a work-orientation based on Weber's analysis (1930) of the Protestant ethic, and his concept of status stratification and "usurpation" (1959).¹

The latter dimension of vocationalism Larson relates to the Weberian notion of a "calling" in which the professional's interests are intrinsic to his task. It "encompasses both an emphasis on self-realization and creative self-expression, and a concern with the field of the profession as a whole" (Larson, 1977;62).

Larson has, in effect, described what others have called the "instrumental" function associated with professional roles (see Demerath, 1973) and the "service" function (Halmos, 1971) or "communal" function (Goode, 1957). All three functions are inherent in the Protestant ethic. Larson believes professionals represent "the fusion of antithetical ideological modes", a kind of "means-versus-ends" system of values within the same person. Unfortunately she does not tell us how this dichotomy is resolved at the individual level.

We are left to presume that the continuing domination of the entrepreneurial by the vocational is the true and proper resolution; it is the more "ethical" stance of the two.

Criticisms have been levied against Larson's account of the rise of professionalism. Two recent comments stem from Barlow (1980), and are worthy of note here:

First, Larson often emphasizes the strategies professionals use to gain status at the expense of an analysis of the conditions affecting the development of these strategies. In fact, the rise of professionalism in the late nineteenth-century United States must be placed within the capitalist's search for order in the face of ruinous competition, the resultant boom-bust business cycles, growing political instability, and worker militancy. That is, the contradictions of capitalist society -- and the inability of capitalists to resolve them -- provided opportunities for professionals to create new institutions and positions within existing ones to 'resolve' the class struggle. (p. 431)

The second problem stemming from Larson's analysis is her assumption that professionals are best understood as communities united by common interests. In fact, I believe professions can be better understood as systems of domination, in which elite professionals use economic, social, and ideological resources to control the conduct of subordinates within an occupation and within subordinated professions. This domination takes two forms. One is to coerce or convince sections of the population to accept professional service. The other is the development of mechanisms -- especially professional schools -- to assure that all practitioners accept elite definitions of competence and the criteria for admittance to practice. (p. 432)

In effect, Barlow attacks Larson's semi-Marxist analysis for not being Marxist enough, namely for not exposing how the ideology "of the community of the competent" among professionals

has "extended their control over the occupational structure, and (has) cloaked the class character of these relationships with subordinates and clients" (p. 432).

It would appear from contemporary dialogues that the issue of how professionalism arose is still a fuzzy one. Seemingly, this particular bit of history rests as yet upon the ideological commitments of the interpreters. Yet there are areas of general agreement nonetheless. Insofar then, as structural-functionalism and neo-Marxist conflict theories represent the main models of analysis for sociological interpretations of professionalism,² a few common threads appear to emerge. These are:

1. That professionalism is historically related to the post-Renaissance exponential growth in secular knowledge, and secular rationality;
2. that population growth, urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization, collectively contributed to a division of labour based on achieved, occupational rankings and class rationality;
3. that the processes of social differentiation (as cultural diffusion, ethnic pluralism, individualism, and socio-economic stratification) increasingly contributed to inequalities of resource distribution and access;
4. that since such inequalities were increasingly controlled by those with knowledge,³ professionals

emerged as occupational groups mediating between those with resources and those without.

Functionalist explanations and dialectic explanations of the rise of professionalism contain these common historical premises. Functionalism (or structural-functionalism) has traditionally stressed equilibrium and consensus-formation as leading elements of social systems, whereas Marxian or dialectic interpretations of human interaction have stressed class-struggle and the relations to the means of production.

As yet, there is no one macrotheory of social systems (addressing change as well as stasis) which has come forward in the social sciences as a synthesis. Some partial "theories" incorporating dialectic assumptions into functionalist models have been attempted (Ball, 1978; Laszlo, 1972; Etzioni, 1966). Professions and professionalism, as units of static or historical analysis, fit well in both of these two theoretical models.

The Process of Professionalization

A number of investigators have generalized, from empirical analysis, a series of sequential stages associated with the professionalization process. Wilensky (1964), for instance, lists the following five:

1. a substantial number of people doing full-time some activity that needs doing;
2. a training school is established;
3. a professional association is formed;
4. the association engages in political agitation to win the support of the law for the protection of the group;
5. a code of ethics is developed.

Caplow's (1964) ordered list is:

1. the creation of professional association, including the definition of membership criteria;
2. a group name-change, to imply greater competence;
3. a code of ethics is developed;
4. developing legal right to sanction against those who falsely claim to be members.

Caplow sees training for membership or for higher levels of skill performance within the profession as a concurrent activity.

Both of these well-known development models have come under sharp criticism by Johnson (1972). He claims that these "natural history of professionalism" schemes are "historically specific and culturebound". And from other studies he concludes that "These variations in sequence and timing suggest that there is no uniform or unilineal process of professionalization which is of universal applicability" (p.29). More to the point, Johnson concludes that:

A profession is not, then, an occupation, but a means of controlling an occupation. Likewise, professionalization is a historically specific process which some occupations have undergone at a particular time, rather than a process which certain occupations may always be expected to undergo because of their 'essential' qualities. (p.45)

What is more sensible, according to Johnson, is to examine not the sequences in development but the "institutionalized orders of control" between producers and consumers. He suggest a typology of three methods of controlling producer-consumer "tensions":

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>FEATURE</u>	<u>EXAMPLE</u>
1. collegial	- producer defines needs of consumer and how to address them	- autonomous occupational associations
2. patronage	- consumer defines needs and how to meet them	- aristocracy (oligarchic patronage) - accountancy (corporate patronage)
communal	- "	- community organization
3. mediative	- third party defines needs of consumer and producer and how to satisfy them	- capitalism (entrepreneurial intervention)

This analytical representation of who controls what and how has useful applications to the study of ethics in community development. Johnson's typology serves the present purpose of showing that the professionalization process is determined by the nature of the needs of consumers and producers to whom the particular profession is structurally tied. The process produces professionals with a guaranteed expertise and monopoly over scarce resources as long as the professionals have some form of control over how and what needs are satisfied. And "professionalization appears also as a collective assertion of special social status and as a collective process of upward social mobility" (Larson, p. 16).

The literature is saturated with models, lists, "traits", and various other statements as to what constitutes "professionals".³ One comprehensive glimpse is provided by H. Blumer (1966:11). These arise out of his definition of professionalization:

Professionalization represents an indigenous effort to introduce order into areas of vocational life which are prey to the free-laying and disorganizing tendencies of a vast, mobile, and differentiated society undergoing continuous change. Professionalization seeks to clothe a given area with standards of excellence, to establish rules of conduct, to develop a sense of responsibility, to set criteria for recruitment and training, to ensure a measure of protection for members, to establish collective control over the area, and to elevate it to a position of dignity and social standing in the society.

Goode (1969:276) provides a precise list of professional traits:

- high income
- prestige and influence
- high educational requirements
- professional autonomy
- licensure
- commitment of members to the profession
- codes of ethics
- cohesion of the professional community
- monopoly over a task
- intensive adult socialization for recruits
- a basic body of abstract knowledge
- the ideal of service

Every professional trait analysis I have reviewed overlaps to some extent with the others, and the Blumer and Goode descriptions are no exceptions. As I see them, the core elements of being a professional, from all the sources (see Footnotes), consist in:

1. being relatively autonomous, perhaps licensed
2. possessing a body of abstract knowledge
3. belonging to a peer organization
4. being socially accountable
5. possessing a service orientation.

These characteristics are inherent; the rest (i.e., income, occupational status, mobility) result from successful practice more than training or from investiture. Licensed professions (e.g., medicine, law) are fixed upon an ideal type reflecting a high quality of self-governance and service (Cullen, 1978:68-9). And deviancy from the ideal through malpractice has a greater effect in shaking public confidence than if the profession were less established, as in the case of "semi-" or "quasi-professionals" (e.g., lab technicians, denture mechanics).

Similarly, even within a profession, members whose role demands become ambiguous (e.g., sociology: consultant or social engineer versus scientist) may have difficulty retaining credibility among their peers and for the profession itself (Moore, 1981:62-64). This partially explains the self-policing role performed by many professional associations, and the prior need for a code of ethics for all members.

The community development profession will be examined shortly for its degree of "fit" with the rise of professionalism generally, and specifically with the process of organizational development.

Littrell (1977) has published a concise handbook called The Theory and Practice of Community Development: A Guide for Practitioners. Here the essential elements of the profession's operational philosophy are itemized. These are:

Assumptions:

1. People are capable of rational behaviour.
2. Significant behaviour is learned behaviour.
3. Significant behaviour is learned through interaction.
4. People are capable of giving direction to their behaviour.
5. People are capable of creating or shaping much of their environment.

Values and Beliefs:

1. People have the right to participate in decisions which have an effect upon their well-being.
2. Participatory democracy is the superior method of conducting community affairs.
3. People have the right to strive to create that environment which they desire.
4. People have the right to reject an externally imposed environment.

5. Maximizing human interaction in a community will increase the potential for human development.
6. Implicit within a process of interaction is an ever-widening concept of "community".
7. Every discipline and/or profession is potentially a contributor to a community's development process.
8. Motivation is created in man by association with his environment.
9. Community development is "interested" in developing the ability of human beings to meet and deal with their environment. (p.4-5)

There is little in this list of assumptions (stated as propositions, hypotheses or "facts" from social psychology) which would give much grief to functionalists, conflict theorists, or symbolic interactionists. However, the focus is decidedly at the microsocial level of interaction. It stresses action, meaning, and environment as independent variables which influence the shaping of community decision-making.

For the paradigm of CD intervention consistent with the status of professionalism, the control of events becomes a negotiated circumstance between the client and the change agent or CDer. In some instances, the CDer may be given sweeping powers to educate, manipulate, co-opt or even coerce, the members of a wider client constituency. In other cases, the power of the CDer may be confined simply to supplying information.

More often than not, however, CDers and clients attempt to function as equals during the change process or interface period.

Several cases in which practitioners have been criticized by the public media for questionable professional conduct, may be mentioned at this point.

CASE ONE: On March 30th, 1981, a reporter for the EDMONTON JOURNAL (largest city newspaper) broke open yet another story in a sequence of accounts of "bungling" and "ineptitude" she discovered in the operations of the Ministry of Social Services and Community Health. She had previously charged the Minister himself with incompetence, since many cases of child neglect occurred (leading to death in some cases) among parents approved for foster-care under ministry guidelines. Her reporting aroused such a degree of public concern that the Alberta Ombudsman, Dr. Randall Ivany, was appointed by the Alberta Government to investigate the professional status of Social Workers within the Ministry of Social Services and Community Health. It was the Ministry's Social Workers which had been implicated in the many instances of child abuse by foster parents, the implication being primarily that the abuse-prone parents had not been properly screened or assessed by the Social Workers. Dr. Ivany's report was released indirectly to the public during an interview with the EDMONTON JOURNAL on March 19th, (section A-3). He is alleged to have made the following conclusions about the Social Work profession in Alberta:

- that they ought to be licensed, to be more accountable;
- only 250 out of 4000 in the province are presently registered members of the Alberta Association of Social Workers;

- if registered social workers do not "abide by the ethical and professional codes of the association ... the public may file grievances against them, and they are subject to investigation and disciplinary proceedings";
- that the department's social workers may be blamed for "the negligence" leading to "the suffering and deaths of 10 children in Alberta foster homes";
- that Alberta Social Workers were "badly trained and took their jobs too casually";
- that two documented cases of social workers "withholding important information from the courts in child welfare cases" were revealed, and the persons involved were "guilty of 'malfeasance'"

...License Social Workers--Ivany,
EDMONTON JOURNAL, Thursday,
March 19th, 1981; section A, p.3

The March 30th, article by Ms. Wendy Koenig was an attack not on the Ministry or the Minister, but on the Social Work profession, after the report by the Ombudsman had been published. It brought sharp responses from social workers in the field. One such rebuttal was contained in an article sent to the JOURNAL by Dr. Richard W. Nutter of Edmonton (April 8th, section A, p.5). Much of what he said supported the findings of Dr. Ivany. However, he had this to add:

Clearly, existing Alberta legislation is both inadequate and inconsistent in relation to psychologists, social workers, and child care workers. However, blaming the certified or registered professionals is misguided. Mandatory certification, registration, or licensing binding practitioners to rigorous codes of ethical conduct backed by scrupulously fair, informed, and available disciplinary procedures should be legislatively implemented. Such legislation should be reinforced by the development of suitable professional education at the university level.

Until these things are done, it would be a great service to all if persons knowing of unprofessional conduct or incompetency on the part of currently registered or certified professionals would use the remedies now available instead of self-righteously decrying imagined inaction on the part of these professionals.

Another social worker, Ms. Elizabeth Huss of Edmonton, also wrote in to challenge Ms. Koenig's claims of irresponsibility (April 8th, Section A, p.5). Ms. Huss used a lengthy but very enlightening quote from a professor of social work, Dr. Shankar Yelaja:

The social work profession, like other helping professions, is embedded in... principles which define 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' or 'better' ... Every professional intervention starts with value premises. Values are therefore permanently affixed to social work. The problem however, is that values are not without moral controversy... (Such) situations involve intense value conflicts and moral dilemmas. Social workers however, are obligated to make professional judgements on these conflicts and dilemmas. Their intervention or non-intervention begins and ends with a moral value. Ethics is an inquiry into the principles of human action to determine criteria by which to formulate ultimate social goals, to choose between conflicting or competing values, and to determine which should have priority. The results of such considerations are gathered together as a body of principles referred to as the 'ethics of a profession'... A profession comes of age when its members formulate and monitor their behaviour and actions. As a professional social worker, I (E. Huss) share the "standards of decency" accepted by our society. I do however, need to read and be cognizant of the theoretic base on which the principles of human action are determined. My compassion and my conscience were not weakened by higher education or textbook theories.

With the exception of the fact that Community Developers do not have to be registered or licensed in any way in order to perform their professional duties and tasks, this case of the Social Work profession in Alberta has definite implications for CDers, since the two professions are closely related (Phifer, et. al., 1980).

I have found no similar attacks on the Community Development profession. Yet, in the above case of Alberta Social Workers, it took one persistent investigative reporter to cause the profession to defend itself to the government and to the general public. No doubt, the reporter's actions and ensuing events have helped to push the Social Work Association in Alberta further along on the road to "full-profession" status, by drawing attention to the degree of non-registered members in the association, and to the irresponsible behaviour of two exposed members.

CASE TWO: Another EDMONTON JOURNAL reporter submitted an article for press release entitled "Professional bodies' power queried" (May 1st, 1981). His main point of concern was the degree to which professions in Alberta could simulate a legal court in their disciplinary actions against members "convicted" of unethical practices. He began as follows:

Imagine a quasi-court that admits hearsay evidence, has the power to order a person to testify against himself and can compel members of the public to give evidence. This body of people, not trained in law, holds its hearings in private, and, as its ultimate sanction, can prevent a person from practising the chosen career for life.

This may sound like a latter-day Spanish Inquisition, but in fact the Alberta legislature has given these powers to approximately 15 self-governing professions. These professional bodies include the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the Law Society of Alberta, and the Alberta Land Surveyors' Association. Each is governed by a separate provincial act, both here and in other provinces.

The author, Robin Barstow, goes on to present the views of several persons who attack the powers of professions in self-policing, and who support the necessity for such powers. The antagonists, Harry Midgley, president of the Alberta Human Rights and Civil Liberties Association, and Andrew Snaddon, an editor of the Edmonton Journal, are shown to raise these points:

- the conducting of meetings behind closed doors
- the undemocratic aspects of their hearings
- the need for public attendance as pre-requisite
- the right of a professional group to subpoena a common citizen without his access to counsel

The protagonists, Dr. Le Riche, registrar of the Alberta College of Physicians and Surgeons, and Joseph Oman, deputy-secretary of the Law Society of Alberta, make the following counter-arguments:

- strong powers are necessary to protect the public
- "You'd never get people complaining if they had to testify in public on things like abortions or doctors having sex with patients...if you can't get witnesses you can't take action against the doctor, so you have to be able to subpoena people"

- a disciplinary procedure is more effective than a court (a sentence means you can't return to former activities)

The article also mentions that lay persons are in most cases, represented on the disciplinary committee and/or the appeal boards.

The above two case analyses are relevant to the present investigation of ethics among CD practitioners, as follows:

1. that "expert" or professional power is not above public accountability in principle;
2. that legislation by governments of professional certification and disciplinary powers appears to be a poorly administered process for emerging professions;
3. that the self-governing powers of established professions arouse public suspicion of undemocratic means;
4. that values and ethics are central to professional practice, but are subject to controversy;
5. that the degree to which the public is included in the internal operations of self-governing professions is an undecided matter;
6. that it is unclear at this point, whether officially legislated certification of professionals is any more of a guarantee of right of ethical behaviour than otherwise (irrespective of the quality of technical service provided).

As a relatively young group, the CDS faces similar controversies in its growth towards professionalization partly because it also has unique characteristics.

B. THE HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROFESSION

One might normally conclude that like the terms social work, social planning, community organization, community development (CD) means an activity of human betterment - either in terms of individual or social therapy. This conclusion follows from how we mentally relate to words which are suggestive of change, of things getting "better", "bigger", more "stable", or "stronger", etc. We in western cultures have a socialized notion that anything which "develops" undergoes a qualitative change, an adjustment of increasing value or worth.

North American society has for twenty or thirty years at least, been influenced by developmental theorists in psychology (Piaget, 1965; Erickson, 1963; Kohlberg, 1963), in psychotherapy (Rogers, 1961, 1951), in "pop" sociology (Toffler, 1970), in sociology (Bell, 1973; Gamson, 1972; Oberschall, 1972; Moore, 1963, 1974; Milnar and Teune, 1978; Ash Garner, 1977; Warren, 1965, 1971, 1977; Parsons, 1961; Smelser, 1973; Etzioni, 1967, 1968), and from political science (Andrain, 1975) and anthropology (Goodenough, 1963). These theorists appreciate social change as having utilitarian or pragmatic value subject to the "correct" forms of control or intervention.

This is the dominant, modern American view (Yankelovich, 1981), and even in "less modern" - but modernizing - societies, change as development is valued (Inkeles and Smith, 1964; Kahl, 1968).

This view is not, however, without its critics (Nisbet, 1969). The latter see "fixity" or permanence as "normal". Functionalists and systems theorists would indeed have a hard time explaining the "counterculturalists" of the '60s, and also recent "fundamentalist" changes in Iran. This is because the emphasis by functionalists upon (at least) the "evolutionary" alterations of social structure precludes the abandonment of contemporary values in favour of primordial values. "Going back" or "cultural recidivism", simply does not fit the functionalist paradigm. The conflict model of change in sociology also has this (and other) weakness (Turner, 1978).

Whether permanence, change, or conflict, is basic and ubiquitous, is an issue for researchers like Nisbet, Moore and Collins (1975) to resolve. Frankly, I am inclined to believe that co-operation is still at the core of the social fabric, only because intuitively, I doubt if individuals representing the "moral majority" would ever deliberately seek out change as an end in itself. Nor do I feel rational individuals knowingly follow paths of self-destruction, except to sacrifice themselves as in war, for "higher" majority ideals, e.g., democracy.

But apart from my intuitions, the philosophy of community development sees co-operation as a prime value.

Co-operation is one of the fundamental goals in professional CD practice. These considerations might partially explain why "development" is itself a value, and not merely an objective state of affairs. When North Americans are confronted with having to react to the concept of CD, they may be more inclined to react favourably to the principle behind the term than to the process it suggests. This is so because not all aspects of the development process are co-operative. Conflict, co-optation, corruption, coercion, and deception, may also be involved. A good indicator of a "successful" CD process would, however, be the frequency and intensity of co-operative episodes over conflict.

The history of CD in America is briefly but aptly described by Phifer, et. al., (1980). Using his chapter subtitles I have summarized below the origins and characteristics of CD, and I have added what I feel are the instrumental and end values contained in each historical setting. These values should be reflected in contemporary CD theory and practice, if my assumptions are correct.

Values reflected in CD history: history by Phifer, et. al.

<u>Historical Example</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Values:</u> I-instrumental E-end
Cooperative Extension Service (Smith-Lever Act of 1914)	-one trained teacher/administrator for each agricultural county...to give leadership and direction (social, economic, financial) -first community "club" formed under CES in Mississippi (1920?)	- better farming, (E) better living (E) more happiness better citizenship (I), (E) - autonomy (E) as a community, socio-economic well-being for members (E)
President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission	-many states undertook community organization work to improve social life in rural areas; used rural sociologists from colleges of agriculture to direct activities	- socio-economic well-being (E) organization(I)
Early community development publication	-Frank Farrington's <u>Community Development: Making the Small Town a Better Place to Live and a Better Place in Which to Do Business</u> (1915)	- knowledge(I)(E). methods of economics(I)
role of educational associations	-formation of National University Extension Association(1915); term CD used in 1924 NUEA proceedings; plea made for university-sponsored CD workers in 1935; in 1948 a community organization committee formed in NUEA, followed by a Division of CD in 1955, and CD status report of members in 1960	- Specialized knowledge, (I) (E) academic input and intervention(I)

<u>Historical Example</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Values:</u>
role of educational associations <u>continued</u>	-Adult Education Association provided input over the years and members overlap with NUEA's CD Division -Coady International Institute, Nova Scotia (grass-roots CD training since 1920's) -1947 program by W. Biddle at Earlham College in CD -1959's...Bureau of CD, Washington U. CD Institute, SIU (BA degree and MA by 1962) -1960.....Springfield College, Mass. (MEd in CD) -1950's...U. of Missouri (MA in 1962) -By 1976, 63 other institutions offered majors or advanced degrees in CD	
community based efforts	-city of Kansas City, Mo., in 1943 becomes first to have a CD department -community education project for the Michigan State Education Authority (1945) (1953); National Community Education Act (1974) -community organization theory and practice developed by Murray G. Ross (1955)	-citizen participation (E)(I) -innovation (E)problem-solving(I) -knowledge (E) (I)
distinctive CD literature	-Ogden and Ogden, 1947 - Ruopp, 1953; United Nations, 1955 - International Cooperation Administration, 1956 - Batten, 1957; Sanders, 1958 - Mezirow, 1962; Warren, 1963 - Ogden and Ogden, 1964 - Clinard, 1966; Batten, 1967 - Batten, 1967; Biddle, 1968 - Cary, 1970; Chekki, 1979 - Christianson and Robinson, 1980	-cooperation(I) process(I) action(I) democracy(E) pluralism(E) prosperity(E) reason (I) change (E) knowledge diffusion(I) and adoption (E)

As I see it, these are some of the main values reflected in the CD literature up to the present time. Co-operation, knowledge diffusion and adoption, and planned social change are values held in high regard by CDers. With few exceptions (e.g., Alinsky, 1969), CDers who write about their activities (see Journal of the Community Development Society) often appear as apologists for these three values above all others. Mainstream CD, then, emerges as consensus/co-operation oriented, with emphasis on knowledge creation (research), knowledge diffusion (intervention), knowledge adoption (evaluation, and on all other related aspects of citizen participation over issues (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971). CDers write as though the values they uphold and those of the social environment of their interventions coincide. Sutton (1970) refers to this relationship as the "value-goal component" (p.61). Sutton (p.66-7) warns however, that in fact this is not always the true picture:

In essence, effective community development involves both a realistic assessment of the requirements of the common good and a hard evaluation of the degree to which consistency with the society's values can be demonstrated within action episodes. Seldom is such consistency demonstrable in advance. In nearly all instances, some aspects of an action effort will be strongly supported by, others will appear quite inconsistent with, and still others may seem almost independent of, any salient value commitments. Indeed, more often than not, the relationship between action episode goals and societal values within the relatively fluid situation of a communal context will depend more upon the unfolding of events and group and personal relationships than upon inherent logic.

Sutton (p.81) reinforces this notion by pointing to several role characteristics or abilities of the "ideal"

CD effort:

Much of our analysis suggests that community development rests ultimately upon our ability to melt within one operation two quite different sets of social forces. The first is the power of group cohesion and esprit de corps; the second is the strenght derived from the accumulated capital of mankind, whether of finances, knowledge, or know-how.

The history of CD contains accounts of other sources of influence, namely, from social work, the settlement house movement, Saul Alinsky's conflict model, urban development efforts in extension, and from several federal government programs (OEO, HUDO) (Phifer, et. al., pp.28-35).

Perhaps the most important occurence in CD's history of emerging "professionalism" was the formation of the Community Development Society in 1969. According to Cary's (1979) analysis of the growth of the CD Society (CDS), the first step towards forming a professional association occurred on January 13th, 1969.

Seventeen people, part of a much larger group meeting in Columbia, Missouri, for a Mid-Continent Conference on the Role of the University in Community Development, met that evening after dinner to discuss the possibility and desirability of forming an individual membership association of those interested and active in community development.

...After much discussion and expression of considerable interest, the group of 17, later referred to as the Founding Committee, adopted the following motion:

"That a small committee be established to proceed with the organization of a professional community development association, to explore the sources of funds, and to take other actions as indicated toward the establishing of a professional association". (p.5)

There is a problem with this pronouncement however. It consists in the seemingly non-complementary intentions of opening up membership to all those who have an interest in the field. To this day, anyone "off the street" can join the CDS as a member with full privileges. Having "an interest" is a basic but legitimate entrance criterion (see Article V. Membership (amended 1974) of the CDS Constitution). It is little wonder that CD theorists (Chekki, 1979; Blakely, 1979; Carey, 1979) are now calling for closer ties between theory and practice in the CD profession, and for the creation of a truly "validated theory" of CD. Chekki (p.28) places the onus on social scientists, not practitioners, to bring this about.

The problem for the professional association in this regard is to objectively determine who is a "scientist" and who is a "practitioner" among its members. The "Founding Fathers" were (and still are) mostly academics (Carey, pp. 6-12) with Ph.D.s or Master's degrees. The membership roster of 1979 (CDS Journal, Vol. 10, No. 2. pp. 175-199) indicates about a 70% academic-based sector, 20% government and public organization, 5% private-consultant and 5% non-classifiable.

Most of these members represent a broad cross-section of academic disciplines, such as regional planners, agricultural extension specialists, rural economists, community developers, community psychologists, program administrators in human resource development, and so on. In almost every case, journal articles which appear in the Journal of the CDS are written by assistant, associate or full professors in various institutes and universities across the continent. I was unable to find a single article written principally by a non-academic or "layperson" in nine volumes of the journal. And from having attended the CDS Annual Meeting of 1979 in Kansas City, Missouri, I can safely say that I only met two private citizens among the four hundred or so members who were there. The rest, it appeared, were academics or local and regional government officials. Most of the guest speakers at the annual meetings are high-ranking state officials, university presidents, and local politicians.

And so, for an organization of over 1,000 members in Canada and the United States, I am forced to conclude that the Community Development Society is not (yet) a professional body - for the following reasons:

1. The criteria for membership are too broad; (For instance, as found in the following keynote address by G. McMurtry, CDS President, 1980 Annual Meeting, August 5th, Humboldt State University:

"The Community Development Society is unique. We combine a special blend of able professionals, volunteers, officials and concerned citizens working together to narrow the gap between community needs and accomplishments. In many ways, we as community development professionals, uplift the hearts and minds of our client groups and citizens so that we can more efficiently and with greater involvement create a piece of the world that is reshaped to support the lives of those who live and work within our communities and neighbourhoods". (Journal of the CDS, Vol.11, No. 2, Fall, 1980, p.129)).

2. No code of ethics exists, nor a formal mechanism for membership sanctioning in the event of "malpractice";
3. Although advanced training (e.g., to Master's level) is available in CD from over half a dozen universities, none of this is a requirement for membership, although it does appear to be a requirement for publication purposes;
4. The financial and political autonomy of the organization is in some doubt (Cary, 1979; McMurtry, 1980);
5. No public evidence exists to suggest the Society has engaged in strong agitation for legal licensing ;
6. There is no body of systematic CD theory.

The CDS is however, moving in various directions to professionalize further its activities and its members.

For example, its membership is increasing (a recent Chapter has been added from Canada, organized by the University of Guelph). It is (or soon will be) lobbying with various universities to have selected topics included in CD courses. Attempts are being made to develop the basis for a unifying theory of CD (Chekki, et. al., 1979; Christianson and Robinson, 1980). A peer organization exists, of course, with annual meetings.

Members possess a service motivation (see Constitution) and abstract but diverse knowledge. Members appear also to be socially responsible (or, at least there is little or no evidence to the contrary in the literature).

Though the leaders of the CDS and much of its literature refer to the CDS membership as a body of professionals, an "in-house" debate occurred in the CDS Journal between the Fall of 1977 and the Spring of 1978. The topic was the certification of CD practitioners. The "seed" for this debate was undoubtedly sown by Huie (1975, pp. 14-21) whose CDS journal article addressed the issue of professionalism and ways to achieve it. He emphasizes the service function over all other criteria in defining a CDer as a professional.

I define a Community Development Professional as anyone who works with people in the process of local public decision-making and in the development of programs designed to make their community a better place to live and work.
(p. 14-15)

For Huie, formal CD training is not necessary as a professional CDer, but is "an asset" nonetheless. And to become professional meant,

- clearly defined roles for CDers;
- knowing the audience one works with;
- honesty in one's dealings and goals;
- perform the three community functions of:
 1. building community consensus
 2. problem identification and clarification
 3. problem analysis. (p.21)

In a somewhat similar but more eloquent vein, Gibson presents compelling arguments against professional certification.

It would be expensive, inefficient, inegalitarian, and "would run counter to the basic commitment to the collegueship of all persons dedicated to serving as change agents in the improvement of community life" (p.37). Like McMurtry and others, Gibson favours a broad or flexible entrance requirement, and places service qualifications above training. Unfortunately he skirts the question of how he would control for malpractice or unethical conduct in the field, and make the task of self-policing a publicly accountable process. I fear his enthusiasm for the bliss of empathy with clients may cloak the real significance of professional competency giving the client the best available knowledge, skills, and understanding.

Parsons, on the other hand, comes out in favour of certification on the basis of "observation and documentation of performance, alone". This answer has attendant problems also. The costs of incompetent apprentices could result in excessive trial-and-error tinkering which neither clients (nor sponsoring agencies) could well afford. Performance is ultimately the final test of competence. But public certification gives clients the advantage of prior knowledge, prior trust, and prior-tested experience. Parsons' main argument seems to be that certification is inevitable. Both "certification and accreditation are inevitably coming to a professional field called 'Community Development'. And we'll either be doing it, or what we call 'community development' will be certified and accredited out of it" (p.6).

Unless certification occurs there would be no protection "from arrogation and perversion by professionals in stronger sister fields". Even though CD's "essential function is social catalysis" other professions could argue similar or "higher" ideals of practice. To argue for certification on the basis of its "inevitability" or because the core of CD is exploitable by others, amounts to no argument at all. The point is valid, however, that unless CD is privy to unique knowledge and skills, to professionalize an area with vast overlap with other professions seems self-defeating. Therefore, if Parsons' assumptions are correct, cries from within the profession for much greater correspondence between theory and practice are timely.

I am reminded at this point of Toren's (1969, p.144) description of a semi-profession:

An occupation will be classified as a semi-profession if it lacks one or more of the professional qualities pointed out above (ref. Greenwood's (1957) five components of a profession); or if - which is empirically more frequent - one or more of these qualities are not fully developed. Thus, a semi-profession may lack a systematic theoretical knowledge base, and hence entail a shorter period of training for its members; it may not command a monopoly of control over its members, the criteria for their recruitment, training, licensing, and performance; its code of ethics may be vague or inconsistent; and the professional association may be divided, inefficient, or powerless.

Clearly, under this scheme of traits CD classifies as a "semi-profession".

Sanders (1975; p.457) is a strong supporter of CD, yet admits its weaknesses in being too diffuse an area of thought "both nationally and internationally". "There are many statements, many "principles", many case studies, but as yet little validated social science theory".

C. CONCLUSION

This conclusion supports my examination of the ethical nature of CDer intervention strategies in planned community change. In ten years of publishing a professional journal, the CDS has only placed one article (Sabre, 1980) on ethics in its volumes.

I now turn to the theories, models, and findings in planned social change which emphasize the strategies which community developers as "change agents" adopt in community intervention.

CHAPTER II

THEORIES OF
CHANGE AGENTS AND CLIENT TYPES
IN
SOCIAL INTERVENTION

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A. Introduction to General Terms and Concepts

Planned social change, in, by or for, a particular community, is a consciously initiated, directed and goal-oriented activity. It usually aims at ultimately increasing its chances of survival through restructuring and resource accumulation. It recognizes that these actions may have their latent and unpredictable aspects.

Planned change however, usually brings about the introduction of new values or innovations to a social system, and often re-learning of roles follows from externally introduced or solicited changes.

Planned social change may be brought about by individuals or groups who may or may not be trained in change theory or strategies. My interest here lies in those persons who are trained as change agents, either by their employer, by the voluntary group of which they are a member, or by a formal institution of learning. There are many roles change agents may adopt in relations with their client groups or organizations: facilitator, innovation manager, system monitor, evaluator, diagnostician, and information specialist and solution builder (Havelock and Havelock, 1973: 27). Each and all of these roles are subsumable under the general role of change agent.

There are also strategies which are likely to bring about the desired changes associated with satisfying needs. Examples of such strategies are:

1. stimulating the client group's problem-solving processes,

2. fostering communication and possibly collaboration between client systems and change agencies,
3. linking particular users with an optimal number of change agencies, and linking a particular change agency with an optimal number of users,
4. listening to new ideas with receptive but constructively critical ears, and
5. introducing flexibility into the relationship between client and change agency.

(Zaltman and Duncan, 1977:188-9)

A client group may consist of members of a geographic or organizational community, whose collective objective is to pursue a course of action seen as necessary or worthy to the best interests of that community.

The social systems with which change agents interact may take many and varied forms. Most, if not all, are groups of persons representing a larger constituency to which the change agent himself may or may not belong. If the agent holds membership defined on the basis of kinship, culture, civic altruism, employment, or special interest, he is termed an internal change agent.

Peaceful internal or external interventions by change agents, have manifest and latent effects upon the system. Violent interventions also produce these two effects. Not all change agents operate on the consensus model of conflict resolution.

In North American contexts professional community developers as change agents traditionally use the consensus model of peaceful intervention (Cary, 1979; 41). The intent is not destruction but the accommodation and integration of existing structures and functions.

A case in point typifying this traditional CD approach is that of Moe (1959; 28-35), in which not only this model of intervention is represented, but also the role strain of "social researcher" versus "consultant". Moe's self-report case highlighted the integrative function of CDers as knowledge creators and diffusers. It introduced the notion of consultation as a professional activity, as well. This role shift was not without its attendant difficulties. Moe state (pp. 367-8) that:

At various points in the development of the program the temptation to do rather than suggest or consult or advise was particularly strong. Perhaps it was strongest in a situation in which personal antagonisms reached a high point. Serious misunderstandings developed between extension agents, detailed as resource persons to the communities, and the supervisor of the personnel at the university. They grew out of a lack of clarity in the definition of roles. Both the immediate parties to this misunderstanding were in a sense "right" and "wrong". The agents in the area worked lay hours, met the demands of local people, and were thought to be doing a good job by the people in the community. The supervisor had larger aspirations for the program, and an idea of what he thought the program should be. Problems of role definition built up into serious personal antagonisms and threatened the total program.

The consultant and the department of which he was a member were immobilized. Attempts to get the parties together were unsuccessful. The consultant and his co-workers, when the situation continued to build up, seriously considered becoming involved in the administrative phases of the program. A number of suggestions as to how the problem might be handled proved ineffectual. A decision was wisely made not to get involved in the administration of the program as this would be inconsistent with both the consultant's and the department's role.

- As I try to show later in this thesis "inconsistency" need no longer be problematic.

This preamble establishes a frame of reference for more specific discussion of roles and responsibilities of change agents. The emphasis in the next section is upon those agents who have received some level of training, formally or informally, which permits them to act on behalf of others in a social system addressing change.

B. Client Groups as Organizations - A Social Systems Approach

A composite picture of the Canadian social fabric within which clients and change agents interact can be developed from recent, popular, culturo-technocratic 'snapshots'.

The Canadian picture is one (for the most part) of rationally contracted associations of persons, such as community clubs competing over scarce material, and less scarce non-material resources. Trends in monetary and technological development in Canada clearly shows a shift towards increased policy dependencies and organizational proliferation, solidifying agreements often along ideological lines, while tolerating unprecedented growth in the numbers of competing, local private and public interest groups.

Those who associate to facilitate needs, be they villagers, farmers, teachers, industrialists, or politicians, usually translate these needs in terms of access to 'hard' (physical) and 'soft' (knowledge, information) technologies..."goods and services" is often another way of putting it. They are rationally contracted groups in the sense that their goals at least, are usually defined through reasoned argument and democratic process, and agreed upon needs apart from motives, may be biased towards the group or reflective of a wider constituency.

The real motives of individual members may never be known, but only inferred from their actions in the group. Group motives are less easily hidden and mostly are associated with consensual needs of the total group and/or its constituency.

Of course it should be recognized that client groups are not always seeking rational nor democratic ways to achieve their goals. And one might be inclined to hypothesize that with the degree of perceived or real oppression felt by some minority groups there is an increasing distrust or non-use of democratic-rational methods to (re)gain equal rights, access, opportunity, etc. With many oppressed client groups, advocacy CD and conflict or power-coercive intervention strategies are the only options. Saul Alinsky's Reveille for Radicals (1946) and his later writings (1969, 1972), have provided some basic tools of intervention for community developers working with minority groups. However, "Many, probably most, planners and community organization specialists reject Alinsky's tactics. To them, his methods produce and even exacerbate conflict rather than prevent it, alienate the neighbourhood from the city as a whole rather than bring it into the normal pattern of civic action, and place a premium on power rather than on a co-operative search for the common good." (Wilson, 1963; 245).

Without necessarily denying however, the usefulness of Alinsky - style tactics in some cases, I restrict myself in this thesis to defining client group and agent interactions as they relate to non-violent activities. This nonetheless allows for advocacy and power-coercive strategies insofar as they are contained in the remaining, more predominant and contemporary modes of intervention. That is, in a small but increasing number of instances, CDers and their client groups are opting for more 'action' and dialectical strategies to achieve client goals, both in urban and rural settings (Coleman, 1957; Robinson, 1980). The emphasis is on values confrontation and resolution primarily, and the ethics of this more recent CD approach, in form and content, will be later analyzed, along with the more traditional CD methods.

Client groups, then, arise from the initial sharing of expressed needs, needs which individual group members experience themselves or are convinced by others to accept. The structuring of the group around common needs and the provision of ad hoc or formalized rules are preliminary steps in planned change efforts.

Client groups are usually persons who are interacting by choice, and who are interdependent to the extent that individual needs can best be satisfied in a plurality.

Where wants and needs are not clearly distinguished either by the client group or by the change agent, inappropriate actions may lead to useless results.

The vulnerability of Third World client groups to arbitrary interventions by 'external' change agents, or to lack of ability or desire to separate wants from needs on their part, raises the crucial question of planned change ethics, to be addressed in the final chapter in more detail. Suffice it is to show at this point that differentiating wants and needs by or for client groups, is one fundamental requisite for effective planned change.

In 'advanced' Western nations, the problems of separating wants from needs among client group members, or by selected change agents, become recurrent and complex for both parties (agent and client group) to the change. In these societies, groups seeking structural or functional change often do so in an arena of mostly middle class cohorts. That is, in a typical western community of average size (10,000) one could expect to find all sorts of public and private associations, clubs, business organizations, ethnic groups, PTA's, advocacy and/or welfare agencies, hobby or special interest organizations, and so forth... who knowingly or unknowingly compete for similar resources (i.e., money, knowledge, data).

In Canada, government agencies are predominantly the holders of, or linking agents for, these resources, through sophisticated 'grants-in-aid' programs or technology-diffusing development schemes. Client groups who negotiate with government change agents for access to certain resources, in order to produce some kind of change or innovation in

their group or its constituency, must do so by means of formal, sometimes time-consuming channels. Needs which are not met soon enough may change or be intensified.

Concurrent with the frustrations and anxieties associated with waiting a long time for needs to be answered, for client groups and/or change agents, is the psychological problem of 'displacement' - "a substitution of one response system for another when the former behavior is prevented in some way" (Wolman, 1973:103).

Wants, then are frequently and subconsciously substituted as needs in longterm negotiations for resources. Both agent and client may unwittingly transform instrumental values into terminal values (Merton, 1957:199) or personal 'preferences' into change-process 'requisites'. In either case the shift from needs-as-needs to needs-as-wants may be a result of:

1. one individual or more, who, in the interim of waiting for formal needs of the group to be met, convince others by persuasion, co-optation or coercion, to alter or add-on to existing needs as expressed; or, irrational inclinations are made 'absolutes' by personality appeal.
2. confusion on the part of client group members between sustenance or safety needs and esteem and self-development needs (Maslow, 1954).
3. misguided or inauthentic interventions by the change agent(cy).

The main point to consider here is that in western or heavily 'urbanizing' cultures, where local-level social change is planned change, resource distribution often occurs in time-bound modules (programs, schedules) which are defined and controlled (occasionally manipulated) by external suppliers. Where there is very little time in which to acquire the resources for change, a client group may be receptive only to persuasion or coercion as means to identify needs. And where obtaining the needs, once identified, takes too long, client systems are similarly susceptible to irrational forces from frustration, forces which act to divert needs to wants disguised as needs.

Group needs are usually rational, well articulated, and directed towards achieving some goal or valued objective, whereas wants may be spontaneous, impulsive and not necessarily beneficial to the stated goals of the group. The distinction fades at the individual level, as it is less easily shown that what he wants is what he needs.

The essence of democratic participation in goal-directed behavior is the surrender to a higher body of the right to determine at least basic human needs for its constituency, and further, to institutionalize ways to satisfy these needs. The nature of this process is, in fact, often aggravated (e.g., instrumental, selfish values become end goals or needs) by the behavioral characteristics of organized human systems themselves.

As we shall see later, the skill of the planned change agent consists in his abilities not only to distinguish a client group's articulated needs from its lesser wants, but also to provide mechanisms whereby pertinent individual wants can become legitimate group needs (and conversely, whereby irrelevant wants are assessed and discarded).

So far I have intended to show that client groups, especially those in advanced capitalistic industrial societies, compete for resources ('hard' or 'soft' technologies) in ways which often blur the distinction between needs and wants (e.g., time-bound, allocation methods). This is an important aspect of the predominant, urban client system, as aspect for which internal and external change agents are responsible as trained interventionists. Further traits of client groups as human systems will now be examined to sustain this and other, later arguments regarding agent roles.

Increasing social pluralism and division of labour are but two central features of capitalistic cultures undergoing rapid change at national and local levels. Few of us do not belong to an organization of some description. Most of us make many of our life-related decisions and take civic actions based upon knowledge and feedback we obtain as a member of formal or informal groups - peer group, reference group, family, work group, community organization, hobby and special interest groups.

As a member of one, two, or many organizations, a person influences social change and social stability concurrently, as a result of interactions where new (to oneself) knowledge is generated or attitudes are changed, or where present information is shared and present norms maintained. By reason of their complexity urban or industrializing societies provide a constant bombardment of 'change-cues'. Urban man cannot escape the deluge of action instructions given by TV, radio, newspaper and billboard commercials, as well as other forms of subliminal intervention (Kando, 1975).

Wilensky (1964: 173-196) counters with his assessment:

1. social differentiation persists, even increases;
2. cultural uniformity also grows;
3. in rich countries there is more independent variation of social structure and culture than in poor ones;
4. developments in the aesthetic-recreational spheres as well as the political sphere may remain isolated from those in the economy and locality for some time, so that in the short run mass behavior in one sphere may not become mass behaviour in another;
5. over several generations, and as rich countries grow richer, there is a strain toward consistency between structure and culture and between behaviour in one institutional sphere and that in a second.

Further, Wilensky believes that "Primary groups survive, often flourish. Urban-industrial populations have not stopped participating in voluntary organizations, which in America and in other pluralist systems, continue to multiply. Moreover, in every industrial society, whether pluralist or totalitarian, there are potent limits to the powers of the mass media, the big organizations, and the centralized state" (1964:175).

It is suggested, then, that consumption or assimilation values in urban-industrial societies are 'offset' by concomitant innovative values and structures. Counter-culture movements are innovative examples of off-setting dominant values and have many redeeming features (Yinger, 1977:833-853), but such movements tend to reject technology (hard and soft) as an independent change variable because of its linkage with high consumption values and elite power alliances (e.g., the scientist and politician).

Change-producing agencies are distinct from change-consuming agencies. The former usually contain sufficient resources, or have access to them, to be able to diffuse their 'products' freely, or at cost, among a local, regional or national network of consumers; whereas the latter are deficient in resources, e.g., personnel, skills, knowledge, equipment. This may force them by internal agreement or by tactful external persuasion, to consume goods or services from others in planned, remedial change.

d

Both types of agencies may be legitimate 'client groups' for trained change agents. The change-producing types usually satisfy organizational needs through internal change agent services. Groups which have insufficient resources, often expressed as 'needs', opt for assistance from external change agents or interventionists when it is feasible to do so. The frequency, for example, with which a private corporation would require the services of an external change agent is predictably less than, say, the number of times a public, non-profit organization would require such intervention. This follows from the philosophy, objectives, structure and function, and type of product each respective organization covets. 'Beaver Lumber', to use real examples, is not structured or 'in business' to directly benefit consumers by freely giving its products away. Profit supersedes benevolence, whereas the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Addiction (AADAC) believes in direct aid to consumers needs and is structured to freely offer its services (its 'product') to human betterment...the motivation being increased human welfare, not organizational profits (i.e., financial).

However, the distinction between change-consuming and change-producing agencies or organizations is one of degree rather than of kind.

A third type of group of organization exists with which a change agent may interact, namely, stability-maintenance agencies.

This type has a balance of resource use and deployment, but produces a value or artifact which remains structurally and functionally constant over relatively long periods of time. Examples include churches, some private schools, some private corporations (e.g., Coca-Cola, Seagram's, Colgate-Palmolive, Wrigley's), Boy Scouts, ballet companies, Steinway Piano Corporation, certain newspaper publishers (the Globe and Mail, Manchester Guardian), the Red Cross, and so on.

These institutions produce goods or services which have symbolic meaning for consumers, namely, of constancy and reliability. The products from these agencies contain in form or content values around which there is public solidarity or consensus over their importance or uniqueness, and which share an appreciation among a wide audience of user-group. As client systems for change agents, these organizations have structural and functional needs generally similar to change-producing organizations (e.g., needs like technological or human resource up-grading or change). Their needs, however, are not so much product-change-oriented as product-improvement-oriented, thereby limiting the effects of agent assistance to marginal or in some cases undetectable product change.

Client systems can be differentiated by using the analytical concepts thus far revealed by these various authors.

I have attempted to produce a taxonomy of client systems below which contains elements from Olsen, Parsons, Etzioni, and several others. This taxonomy is not meant to be exhaustive, merely generalizable to those organizations as client groups for change agents, which can be assessed on their proclivity to change given their expressed and latent purposes, and resource base.

Figure 1.

Suggested Taxonomy of Client Systems in Planned Social Change

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Change-Producing</u>	<u>Type</u>	
		<u>Stability-Maintenance</u>	<u>Change-Consuming</u>
Values in normative structure (Blau)	"distributive"	"integrative"	"organizational"
Goals (Parsons)	"economic/political"	"pattern-maintenance"	"integrative"
Activities (Moore)	"power-wielding/productive"	"institutionalizing"	"consumatory"
Compliance Patterns (Etzioni)	"utilitarian/normative"	"normative/"	"normative"
Prime-Beneficiary	"business"	"service"	"mutual-benefit/commonweal"
Genotypic Function (Katz & Kahn)	"productive/adaptive"	"maintenance"	"managerial-political/maintenance"
Structure (Behling and Schriesheim)	"mechanistic-organic"	"mechanistic"	"organic"
Resource Levels	high; stable	low-to-high; changing	low; unstable or fixed
Products	changing; articulate	continuous; articulate	changing; inarticulate
Expressed purpose	to market innovation	to market stable values/ideology	to gain resources
Latent purpose	to make profits	to widen membership/clients	to perform public or community function
Proclivity to change	high	low/moderate	low

Examples:

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| -large corporations,
businesses | -old businesses | -interest
groups |
| -large R&D institutes
(high technology) | -large civic
institutions | -community clubs |
| (large assets; large
liabilities) | -unions (moderate
technology) | -small new
companies |
| | (large assets;
low liabilities) | (low technology)
(low assets;
large liabilities) |

Client systems are of these three general types. As has been mentioned previously, the number of client members engaged in planned change episodes at any one time, varies with the size of the organization or 'constituency'. For example, community groups may be totally represented in planned change efforts, e.g., a small rural village. But large corporations appoint only a relatively small number of members to engage in change episodes, usually attracting elites (but not always, as in the case of lower and mid-management levels). Change-producing clients, then have the smallest degree of representativeness associated with change agent interfaces, whereas change-consuming clients may send their total constituency. Change-producing agencies however, are usually technologically equipped so as to ensure communication of all change activities to all members.

Client systems appear in total or in part, in planned change episodes, and this characteristic, often related to motivation and status, as well as group size, is one which may determine change strategies adopted by the client.

One final useful distinction is that between change "client systems" and change "target systems" (Zaltman and Duncan, 1977:18). A change client system is "the individual or group requesting assistance from a change agent in altering the status quo", whereas the change target system is "the unit in which the change agent(s) is trying to alter the status quo such that the individual, group or organization must relearn how to perform its activities. A community club for instance, may be both a target and client system, unlike the case of parents seeking some form of psychiatric help for their child. The parents are the client but the child is the target, in the latter case. This distinction is important because often change agents are involved with clients who represent a change target, (e.g., management representing workers). This condition has ethical implications, especially when the target system is unaware that a client group is representing them in a change effort.

In CD, client and target systems are distinguishable only to the extent that the agent intervenes to address the "instrumental" (task) issues of the client, or, the "expressive" (maintenance) issues of the client. CD professionals are trained to facilitate both needs today. However, in the past, the dominant mode of intervention addressed economic-external concerns and seldom the internal-psychology of clients. Client morphogenesis and morphostasis in CD are affected by a whole range of possible interventions, as shall be later detailed.

To give a capsuled perspective on the level of intervention which CDers and other planned change agents operate, it is useful to mention here the model of social change developed by Zaltman, Kotler, and Kaufman, 1972; p.3, as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2.

Typologies of Unplanned Social Change

Time Dimension	Level of Society		
	Micro (Individual)	Intermediate (Group)	Macro (Society)
Short term	Type 1 1) Attitude change 2) Behavior change	Type 3 1) Normative change 2) Administrative change	Type 5 1) Invention-Innovation 2) Revolution
	Type 2 Life-cycle change	Type 4 Organizational change	Type 6 Socio-cultural evolution
Long term			

Planned change interventions occur in CD and other types of professional-directed change, in Type 1 and Type 3 categories. Most short-term changes are of these types. Less frequent however, are Type 5 changes, exemplified by such events as the 'over-nite' technologies of data processing, space exploration, the 'countercultural' movement of the 60's, and 'countermovement' revolution in Iran in the late 70's. In these latter cases, it becomes less discernible as to who the specific change agents are. In some situations, charismatic leaders (social scientists, moral entrepreneurs) are made more visible by the public media, and often take unsolicited credit for the changes which do occur.

Macro-level change (Type 5) is rarely achievable by the direct intervention of merely one or two agents. The politically conservative nature of professional organizations qua organizations is seldom a well-spring for radical advocates of societal-level social change. Hence, although an agent's goals may be global or universalistic in planned change, his effects are mostly localized.

C. Client Types in Canada

Crowfoot and Chesler's "political" agents of change (P), are citizens, not usually professionals, who work freely or for compensation, in assisting 'oppressed' social groups or interest groups with political objectives. P agents are frequently advocates for, or leaders of, social-movement organizations, organizations having "exclusive" or restrictive conditions of membership, and "inclusive" or open or voluntary conditions of membership.

A typology of social movement organizations has been constructed by Curtis and Zurcher (1974;p.358) which shows the relationship of variables found between organizations defined by types of goals and by membership criteria. Figure 3, below reveals these variables in further detail. As primarily change-producing organizations, they promote certain values having local or universal reference. These values differ, depending upon the goal-orientations of social movement organizations. Borrowing from Gordon and Babchuk (1959), Curtis and Zurcher define the two main goal orientations as follows:

The expressive organization manifests a goal-orientation towards satisfying the social and psychological needs of its members through acts of participation. The instrumental organization manifests a goal-orientation of accomplishing some specific task external to the organization. (p.357)

They define social movements (after Zald and Ash, 1966) as "consciously and purposively structured types of collective behavior which manifest norm or value-oriented

strategies for action" (p. 356)⁴. Therefore, social movement organizations have needs related to actions, which either enhance the internal solidarity or maintenance of the organization, or which facilitate the achievement of external objectives. In social movement organizations, P agents are advocates who intervene to help achieve on the one hand, internal, structural-systemic goals by rational-technical and/or power-coercive strategies. In the latter case, knowledge or ideologies may be manipulated by the P change agent and his cohorts, to favourably sway public or government opinion, through reasoned argument or through threat tactics of various kinds.

Figure 3.

GOALS, MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS, AND RELATED STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

		Goal Orientations		
		Expressive (and Diffuse)	Mixed Expressive and Instrumental	Instrumental (and Specific)
Conditions of Membership	Exclusive	Solidary Incentives	Solidary and Purposive Incentives	Purposive Incentives
		Highly Specified Contact with Environment	Highly Specified Contact with Environment	Highly Specified Contact with Environment
		Directing Leadership Style	Directing Leadership Style	Directing Leadership Style
	Mixed Exclusive and Inclusive	Homogeneous Membership	Homogeneous Membership	Homogeneous Membership
		Solidary Incentives	Solidary and Purposive Incentives	Purposive Incentives
		Moderately Specified Contact with Environment	Moderately Specified Contact with Environment	Moderately Specified Contact with Environment
	Inclusive	Directing and Persuading Leadership Style	Mixed Directing and Persuading Leadership Style	Mixed Leadership Style
		Moderately Homogeneous Membership	Heterogeneous Membership	Heterogeneous Membership
		Solidary Incentives	Solidary and Purposive Incentives	Purposive Incentives
		Broad Contact with Environment	Broad Contact with Environment	Broad Contact with Environment
		Persuading Leadership Style	Persuading Leadership Style	Persuading Leadership Style
		Moderately Heterogeneous Membership	Heterogeneous Membership	Heterogeneous Membership

Social movement organizations in North America are based on reformist ideologies (e.g., Civil Rights Movement under Martin Luther King Jr., Saul Alinsky's anti-Eastman/ Kodak campaign) in which new values (or a different use of present values) are sought, for the immediate benefit of members, or society generally.

Preserver ideologies (e.g., anti-annexation debates between cities and hinterland or fringe communities) also form the basis of many social movement organizations. Here, P agents may be engaged to facilitate the preservation of traditional values or customs. Considerable effort may be spent by the change agent and the organization creating an action ideology for reform purposes. This may mean that the organization's goal orientations fluctuate between instrumental-exclusive and expressive-inclusive forms, in order to secure and maintain membership and the most efficient organizational structure.

P agents then, while working with social movement organizations, are often cast into leadership and advocate roles. Action research fits in well as a maintenance strategy for them to use. There may be more emphasis placed upon a P agent's personality traits or 'charisma' in expressive organizations than in instrumental organizations, because the former demands more of his powers of persuasion and less of his 'credentials'. In either case, as a 'reformer' "he must recruit a coalition of power sufficient for his purpose; he must respect the democratic tradition which

expects every citizen, not merely to be represented, but to play an autonomous part in the determination of his own affairs; and his policies must be demonstrably rational" (Marris and Rein, 1972; p.7).

Such admonitions about change agent roles in social movement organizations, are, of course, culture-bound to North America. They may have no utility in 'traditional' societies, such as those found in the Middle East or in Third World countries.

In the context in which I have earlier defined community development, it is assumed that 'community' is more than simply the existence of social interactions and common ties. It also has locality-relevance. Therefore, as in the CD literature tradition, I am distinguishing 'communalism' from 'community' by the addition of a third characteristic, a specifiable, impinging geographic area after Warren, Carey, Sanders, Schler, and others.

Following from the analysis of social movement organizations by Curtis and Zurcher, Zald (1979; p.241) has proposed a typology of community organization groups or agencies which cross-references the "change oriented" and "service oriented" goal dimensions by institution and individual/group structure, with membership and non-membership qualifications or traits.

This classification scheme appears below in Figure 4 .

Figure 4.

Goal Dimensions of Community Organization Agencies

	CHANGE ORIENTED		SERVICE ORIENTED	
	INSTITUTION	INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP	INSTITUTION	INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP
INTERNAL (MEMBER)	A Regional planning groups for specific areas New-style welfare councils (planning is change oriented)	B Neighborhood block clubs Settlement houses	C Old-style welfare council (co-ordinate, no enforcement power)	D Community centers Adult education
	E Lower-class social movements Governmental community projects	F Agencies working with street gangs Family service agencies	G Regional or community research agency	H National health agencies (excluding research)
EXTERNAL (NONMEMBER)				

Source: Mayer N. Zale, Organizations as Politics: An Analysis of Community Organization Agencies, in F. Cox, J. Erlich, et. al., Strategies of Community Organization, 3rd edn., (Itasca, Ill.; F.E. Peacock), 1979; pp.238-48)

Zald develops a series of hypotheses which have implications for the change agent's or CDer's intervention strategies:

1. the more change-oriented the goals are, the greater the incentives needed by the practitioner and his agency to accomplish these goals;
2. the more member-oriented an organization is, the greater the likelihood of a consensus on action;
3. the more institution-oriented the target (client) is, the more likely the bonds of organization are not solidaristic - based on the emotional attachments between agent and client - and the more likely they are based on exchange relations, on criteria of institutional rationality;
4. as an organization begins to change its basic goals, constitutional problems emerge. (p. 240-42)

Institution-oriented or "instrumental-exclusive" organizations, as clients, would probably place a premium on rational-technical strategies of change, rather than on normative-reeducative strategies. The converse would hold for member-oriented or "expressive-inclusive" organizations, wherein the development of internal membership bonding or solidarity would be a more appropriate strategy. The strategy of intervention for a change-oriented, non-member organization (e.g., community-government project) would differ considerably from a service-oriented, non-member organization (e.g., "old style welfare council") strategy. The former would require the input of facilitative knowledge and skills relating to tasks to be performed, whereas the latter would call for normative or psychological manipulation (e.g., human relations).

Since the declared role of the CDer is to attempt to achieve consensus in community development matters, through increasing people's "psychological capacity to make decisions" (Khinduka, 1979,; p.356) and by a strengthening of a community's (or client's) "horizontal pattern" of socio-psychological interaction (Warren, 1963; p.324), one might be inclined to believe CDers would only bring about superficial, emotional changes and de-emphasize more basic, conflict-laden changes.

This emphasis on achieving emotional consensus has been criticized as a leading characteristic of the community-development profession (Khinduka, p.360; Speight, 1973), mainly because collaborative-consensus strategies proceed too slowly (often where change is urgent). Or else too much

emphasis is placed upon incremental change as opposed to transfroming change (Kindler, 1979).

Specht (1975) has effectively shown the perceptions of change which exist and their respective responses and intervention strategies (p.337):

<u>When change is perceived as:</u>	<u>The response is:</u>	<u>The mode of intervention is:</u>
a) rearrangement of resources	consensus	collaborative
b) redistribution of resources	difference	campaign
c) change in status relationships	dissensus	contest or disruption
d) reconstruction of entire system	insurrection	violence

This is further delineated by associating the respective tactics with each mode of intervention (p.341):

<u>Mode of intervention</u>	<u>Tactics</u>
collaborative	1. joint action
	2. cooperation
	3. education
	4. compromise
campaign	5. arbitration
	6. negotiation
	7. bargaining
	8. mild coercion
	9. clash of position with accepted social norms
contest or disruption	10. violation of normative behavior (manners)
	11. violation of legal norms
	12. deliberate attempts to harm
violence	13. guerilla warfare
	14. deliberate attempts to take over government by force

Most CD interventions are of the collaborative type (ref. CDS Journal volumes since inception).

With the increased interest in the social sciences for humanistic advocacy in applied research (Gouldner, Rossi, Lee, Whyte, Laue, Kelman, Warwick, Reasons), and more interest in action research in CD (Blakely, 1979; Voth, 1979), it would seem that it won't be long before CDers become trained in campaign' methods of intervention. Many recent articles in CD and CO (community organization) texts are speaking precisely to the usefulness of advocacy-action intervention strategies (e.g., Haggstrom, 1979; Burghardt, 1979; Rothman, 1979; Guskin and Ross, 1971).

This prognosis of future roles for CDers casts a heavy shadow over the ability of the profession to handle such external influences upon membership, especially in view of the fact that a code of ethics does not as yet exist. One wonders how long the profession can last relying so much, it seems, on the 'faith' of members to abide by basic principles (see Littrell, Chapter One) while in the field. On what basis would it (could it) discipline its members for say, pursuing campaign, contest or violence strategies of intervention? This topic will be examined with others, in the next chapter.

If, however, action-advocacy interventions as are suggested by the profession mean that governments are unable to deal with change through normal political processes, we are left with this sobering thought by Specht (p. 345-47):

So long as our country (US) participates in unjust wars of conquest and neglects to provide the resources needed to deal with domestic crises of racism, poverty, and other social injustices, all professionals will face the dilemma of either working through institutions

which they believe may be unable to overcome social rot or participating in their destruction. But that awful choice should be made with clarity about the consequences for our professional status (social work) as well as the objectives we believe we are serving...

Ultimately, choice of tactics must rest on our beliefs about our society. If we believe it is possible to move the community we can continue to work through our institutions for change. If it is not possible then God help us all, for we must then either continue to act in a drama which has lost its purpose or join in its destruction. Disruption and violence can contribute to change, but more than that is required for reconciliation; more than that will be required to transform America.

In Canada, community development and planned social change has not traditionally dealt with social injustices as severe as in the United States (Draper, 1978; p.35), CD has been based on citizen participation theory and social planning theory (Bregha, 1973; Connor, 1974; Draper, 1971; Sewell, 1977; Lash, 1976; Burton, 1977). There is no formal CD organization in Canada, except for the recent formation of a Canadian Chapter of the CDS in southern Ontario (CDS Vanguard, Winter, 1981), and it was only in 1968 and 1972 respectively that the University of Alberta and Algonquin College established an advanced degree and diploma program in community development.

Draper's "Evolution of Citizen Participation in Canada" (1978) links community development history in this country with the rise of various adult education institutions and with government projects and offices. These include the Antigonish Movement, 1930; Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1935; Farm Radio Forum, 1939; ...Saskatchewan-Canadian Centre for Community Studies, 1959;...

The Ontario Department of Provincial Secretary and Citizenship, 1961; ...Canada Council on Rural Development, 1965; ...The Company of Young Canadians, 1966; ...Frontier College CD Program with NW Territories, 1967; ...Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation's Neighbourhood Improvement Program and New Communities Neighbourhood Improvement Program, 1973. Other CD programs of economic development are cited by Draper, e.g., Canada Newstart, 1967; DREE, 1969; LIP, 1971; OFY, 1971; and LEAP, 1973.

Few Canadian examples of CD incorporated expressive-solidary goals; most were instrumental-technical efforts to link community groups to external resources. Citizen participation strategies represented efforts to structure internal-external relationships between community groups (or communities) and government services or business-industry resources. There was little interest in strengthening a community's horizontal ('gemeinschaft') axis. As recently as 1956, CD objectives in Canada were laid out as:

1. to achieve the maximum utilization of all area resources available including human resources,
2. to undertake the project with technical and financial assistance of an outside agency,
3. to be oriented towards the achievement of goals set by the people the project is to serve.

(Legasse, in Draper, 1978, p.34)

In effect, CD was neither a "movement", nor a "process", nor a "program", but a "project" (Sanders, 1975), with pre-determined goals or objectives, and a specifiable time frame for completion. Many projects became frustrating entanglements of wants, needs and means; that is, most were tied into

government grant structures with terminal assistance, thereby limiting the government's responsibilities to activities of the project only, not to the side- or after-effects. Thus, many capital and non-capital projects were left hanging, searching for additional funding after the initial events had run to completion. Community halls, recreation complexes, and social welfare programs were often created with no preliminary thought in mind about how they were going to be maintained once the grants had expired.⁵ And since governments seldom gave 'seed' or 'start-up' funding beyond a fiscal year, many community residents were left in an economic and psychological state of dependency. Thus, community development could be seen as an effective controlling device. "Collegial-mediative" forms of control often went disguised as "patronage-communal" control (see Johnson's typology, Chapter One), and when government budgets were cut back, the situation worsened.

In the past few years some citizen groups formed in the 1960s have become established organizations with stable community or government funding. Many others, however, had become dependent upon OFY, LIP and LEAP grants, and when these programs were cancelled, the majority never recovered, particularly those involved in social action and consumer advocacy. Similarly, community development activities, which fostered many local groups and organizations, have virtually come to a halt. The termination of the Company of Young Canadians was only the tip of the iceberg. Community development had been eligible for cost-sharing under the Canada Assistance Plan, but provincial governments which initially supported community development activities moved quickly to withdraw their support because these activities often led to increased demands for other social and community services, and to criticism of existing government programs. In the 1970s public and voluntary organizations alike have been dropping community development as a "luxury" during a period of economic restraint.

The problems caused by staff and citizen inexperience, conflicts in goals and objectives within working groups, shortage of time and resources, threaten the realization of the positive potential in participation. If this threat is to be overcome, persons with talents as enablers must be hired to assist the citizens. The demands of participation programs on staff and time resources at the municipal level act to discourage further participation programs. The popular thrust for participation, apparent in the early seventies, appears to be diminishing. Yet the need for active, informed participation by citizens remains a crucial priority in maintaining and enhancing the present quality and future evolution of our democratic values.

Cartwright, 1977: p. 402

Some community development efforts however, have shed light on the Canadian CD scene - most notably the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry or "Berger Inquiry" (after presiding Judge Tom Berger), created by an Order in Council, March, 1974. The humanistic, 'grass-roots' intervention by a senior official of the legal system, was most certainly atypical, yet tremendously well-received and instructive.

The lesson of the Berger Inquiry is not so much that it persuaded people to participate, but that the process of doing so helped to make a wider public take its conclusions seriously...Citizen participation thus became meaningful by contributing through substance and delaying effect to the abandonment of the pipeline proposal.

Templeton, 1978: p. 167

Nor did Berger abuse his powers to co-opt or coerce, or to over-identify or "go native". The litmus test analogy to his intervention strategies reveals that his pre-hearing participant observations, and his insistence wherever possible on informed consent, had a great deal to do with predicting that a totally fair and informed inquiry was likely.

The popular impact of his successes at mobilizing wide-spread Native Unuit and Dene input, was measured by the fact that his final report became a Canadian "best-seller".

Nevertheless, typical Canadian CD, in terms of being more than a) localized problem-solving over economies of scale issues, b) project implementation around remedial social services, and c) education in political decision-making - has been by and large, a dismal failure. CD efforts have been seen to lack "acceptable research designs" and "objectivity", caused in part by "the often ambiguous policy commitment of governments to community development, the inadequate decision-making structure and process of public administration, as well as the paucity of clear conceptualizations in this (CD) field" (Campfens, 1979: p.201). Governments have tended to "dictate the terms", avoid the partnership model, and not to allow communities to participate on their own terms with recognized "autonomous centres of power" (p. 214). And although more elaborate collaborative strategies of agent intervention and systems efficiency have been proposed (Dimock, 1979), only a few Canadian CD theorists (e.g., Stinson, 1979) are going beyond the core of functionalist models, to combine more sophisticated research methodology with social action.

With the exception of social workers and social planners, who have in Canada, an over-seeing professional body and ethical code respectively, CDers lack such support and policing devices. Canadian CDers have traditionally been referred to

as "Community Developers" by governments who hire them and have specific tasks for them to perform. Until the 1960s, the task-model associated with the CDer role was generally that of an agricultural economist, diffusing technological advancements and monetary assistance to mostly rural areas (Ross, 1955; Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971). This was the North American model, with some over-lap with 'community organization' and 'adult education'. In Canada particularly, there was no time-honoured professional paradigm of CD theory and practice, and hence, action-research and advocacy/adversary strategies of intervention are quite new.

The adoption of such innovative techniques suggests at least a multiplicity of ethical dilemmas or issues occurring in the field. One would expect this because

- a) there would follow a certain role tension or role conflict among CDers adopting new approaches, especially strategies and methods which might require the CDer to justify and defend his values;
- b) government bureaucracies, as a main employer of CDers in Canada, are not receptive to integrating change quickly into policies, structure and staff roles;
- c) CDer roles continue to be defined by clients, who set performance objectives and more implicitly, conduct limits (especially in term contracts: see Appendix B);
- d) only a minimal number of Canadian CDers retain membership in the America-based, Community Development Society.

Pressure may also begin to be placed upon training institutions (e.g., University of Alberta, Algonquin College) to prepare graduates for these possible role dilemmas, by altering CD curricula to include ethics, action-research, and advocacy techniques. The extent to which this is happening is not as yet clear however.⁶

State control over the selection, activities, and sanctioning, of community developers is still the norm. There simply has not been enough controversy found or generated publicly about the professional behavior of CDers to warrant the creation of a self-policing body in this country. Canadian social scientists generally have remained well above suspicions of malpractice, at least if we are to believe that the void of such reportings in the media and professional journals is an acceptable indicator. Experience suggests however, that this is not the case; that is, CD malpractice particularly, has not been professionally monitored nor publicly reported - yet it does occur. And the prediction at hand is that it will increasingly occur and run the greater risk of public exposure with the adoption of action-advocacy intervention strategies. Hence the importance of examining the ethical ramifications of these (and other) interventions is to

- a) prepare others who choose to pursue these new methods;
- b) prepare some theoretical and practical groundwork for the possible creation of a Canadian CD professional body;

- c) arouse the interest of social science to the relatively unexamined area of professional ethics.

A truly Canadian profile of CD activities can be had by examining Burton's (1977) analysis of Citizen Action: An Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Case Studies, edited by A. Stinson (1975). Of the 96 Canadian cases of public participation cited, 33 were from Alberta, and the balance were from all other provinces. The "key characteristics" and respective findings appear as follows (the top three only):

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Frequency (# cases)</u>
1. Nature of the issue	
- general urban planning/development	28
- provision of public/community service	20
- housing-renewal/rehabilitation	14
2. Type of participation	
- cooperative	57
- adversary	27
- mixed	11
3. Objectives of the participation	
- to generate information	63
- to influence policy/prevent dev't	28
- to identify alternatives	24
4. Scale of participation	
- community	35
- neighbourhood	32
- provincial region	10
5. Techniques of participation	
- public meetings	54
- advisory groups/task forces	38
- technical/professional advice	34

6. Evaluation of participation

- none	51
- ex post facto	35
- inherent evaluation	7

From this review it is clear that the traditional model of collaborative planned change is still dominant. Burton concludes that although there seems to be widespread commitment to public participation generally, its usefulness has been questioned, that the concept has many interpretations in theory, and that there is little consensus in practice also. "Adversary situations emerged early in the development (of public participation) and are still to be found today, but the co-operative venture is much more prevalent... At this time, however, one would have to conclude that, in the large majority of cases, public participation is seen as an opportunity for the public to inform and consult, not to advise and consent" (p.15).

Encasing the power to advise and consent within community groups intuitively surpasses the lesser functions of informing and consulting as effective change strategies. Canadian cases of government-community interaction present the view that informing and consulting are necessary and sufficient for most groups. That is, the higher powers of advising and consenting continue traditionally to rest with governments, leaving community groups with the lesser role. Supposedly, a shift from the traditional paradigm of interaction between community groups and government, assisted by knowledgeable and skilled change agents, would help to erase

social inequalities or economic injustices by transferring or mobilizing power to or within citizen groups. Some authors see this as the only effective solution to dilemmas of social reform (Marris and Rein, 1972). Others prefer to be flexible and responsive to the local needs by retaining several intervention styles, such as "locality development" (or CD), "social planning", and "social action" (Rothman, 1979).

Regardless, an increasing number of Canadian change agents, mostly professionals, favour more advise and consent powers resting in the hands of community groups, although each seems to have his own method of bringing this about (ref. B. Sadler, ed., Involvement and Environment: Proceedings of the Canadian Conference on Public Participation, 1978). Clearly, the mood is for government agencies to stop treating people as 'objects', and more as autonomous 'subjects'.

Appropriately, Voth (1979; p. 75-6) comments on the same thematic change, but from an American perspective:

To be sure, some advocates of community development have been reluctant to recognize the turmoil and conflict that such a process might entail and, consequently, have attempted to stimulate it at a very superficial level. Also, there has been a considerable amount of rural and small-town mythology involved in this vision. However, in one form or another, this radical view of community development persists, and it is, in my view, its single most valuable contribution.

Others have criticized the ineffectiveness of traditional CD to bring about necessary changes (Grosser, 1976; p. 204) because it had been based on an obsolete "political

philosophy". "Community development is a rather soft strategy for social change. As a method of social service, however, its contributions can be very significant" (Khin-duka; p. 176). With regard to the "social service" role ascribed here, it is significant to note that the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services employs community agents who are titled 'Community Development Officers' (my emphasis).

Thus it would appear that from the writings of these authors and others (Chekki, et al) that a major paradigm alteration is occurring in the CD profession, one which suggests added knowledge and methods for the CDer towards a more active intervention role. I am not convinced however, that this change in professional practice is one that clients (citizens) are requesting, or that it is merely a fabrication by the CD profession for reasons which remain obscure. Case study analysis has this weakness in that it does not isolate specific units in a social group or society, thereby rendering them open to controlled and/or statistical analysis. Case studies do, however, have other advantages which make them very useful in theory construction in sociology (Stouffer, 1962; Theodorsen and Theodorsen, 1971).

Professional change agents who adjust their values and their methods of intervention away from traditional collaborative-consensus strategies, risk their reputations

at least, when the 'new' strategies they adopt challenge or counter those socially approved values upon which their profession is based.

That professionals themselves in CD do not wish to see this form of extremism of professional role, is revealed by Brager and Specht (1973; pp. 352-53):

Since a professional receives his sanction for practice from the larger society he serves and its legal and political systems, he is hardly in a position to act as if that framework is no longer legitimate. Morally, he may come to that conclusion, and it is difficult to argue that a moral basis for such a conclusion does not exist in present-day America. Whatever his personal commitments however, professional sanction and professional values, (e.g., to help people make their choices, rather than to impose his choice of the right solution) do not permit professionals, as professionals, to engage in revolutionary activity. If revolution is the goal and violence is the means, then community work is the wrong field and this is the wrong book.

These authors feel, as do others in CD (Bregha, Dimock, Draper, Khinduka, Chekki), that there are limits to action beyond which professionals should not venture, e.g., non-violent contest strategies, and that therefore, CD "is, at best, a limited means and that the changes it can achieve are limited as well. Nevertheless, modest change ought not to be dismissed" (B & S, p. 353).

Here also is evidence of the dualistic nature of applied social science, in which private citizen roles and professional roles may come to clash within the individual. Most authors warn against resolving the dilemma by favouring personal rationalizations over professional ones, thereby relinquishing 'responsibility'.

Continuing with some concluding but important change models, Zaltman and Duncan (1977) offer four approaches or strategies to planned change which closely resemble Crowfoot and Chesler's models, i.e., 'facilitative' (PT), 're-educative' (PT, P), 'persuasive' (P, CC), and 'power' (P). They also approximate Chin and Benne's typology. Facilitative and re-educative strategies are the most 'democratic' because they both assume that the target group (or client) "1) already recognizes a problem, 2) is in general agreement that remedial action is necessary, and 3) is open to external assistance and willing to engage in self-help" (p. 90).

Both persuasive and coercive strategies are deliberate intervention strategies, often upon unsuspecting or uncooperative client systems. Persuasive strategies attempt to create change through biased communications, reasoned argument, urging and inducement, whereas coercive strategies assume the target/client is dependent upon the agent for satisfaction of its goals, and by the force of psychological and/or physical power (as manipulation or threats) coerces compliance. The last two methods generally create a low level of commitment on the part of the client, and are not democratic in nature. Professionally trained agents are sensitized to them as techniques, especially to persuasive strategies where legitimacy of use generally stops. Coercive strategies in Western cultures are not usually part of the trained agent's repertoire, not at least those who are trained in university or status quo-institutional settings.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLES OF CHANGE AGENTS

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A. General Roles of Change Agents

You and I are agents of stability and change. We deliberately or unintentionally influence others to alter their behavior towards us by merely interacting with them, through one or more known media formats, i.e., oral, tactile, visual, symbolic. When we are 'purposely' motivated to influence others, that is, when we are conscious of why, what, and perhaps how we will communicate, we have begun to plan a strategy of intervention. And not only might we structure the form of our communication so as to be most appealing to our audience but we might also re-arrange or adjust the environment within which our messages are transmitted and/or exchanged.

Picture, if you will, a middle-class father of four stricken with the new knowledge that he has just been released from his position as Sales Manager for a smalltown Feed Mill. It will probably take a long time to find a comparable job either locally or in another rural community. How does he tell his family that they might have to move out of a community in which they and previous generations have been for over sixty-seven years? Clearly he carries depressing news for five other people who are very close to him; also he may wish to tell friends and eventually, neighbours of the family's misfortune.

Predictably he will choose a strategy of communication which will enhance the greatest understanding and empathy first among his family members.

This might consist of telling his wife first and asking her advice on how to break the news to the kids, or by telling them all together over dinner. In either case, he will choose to do it verbally and in person, in a controlled manner. He will present facts and explain the implications. He might insist that the TV or radio be turned down while he is speaking, and that the dog be put outside. Finally, he might ask for feedback from each family member about how he feels about it and to solicit suggestions on how the family will maintain itself during the period until the father finds another position. And lastly, he will probably recommend or ask for, advice on how and when to tell friends and relatives.

This scenario illustrates a planned intervention involving the deliberate passing of new information, using selective strategies, upon an unsuspecting audience, and from whom feedback is solicited. Most of the types of interactions you and I have with others is of this 'unsolicited' type. That is, in non-structured communications we presume the other person has not heard what we are going to say and that he or she will probably respond to our message.

Since the 16th or 17th centuries, less and less social change has resulted from cultural transmission than through direct "transformation of social patterns". According to Comte's positivism and the law of the "Three Stages", each branch of knowledge passes successively through three

different theoretical phases: the Theological or fictitious, the Metaphysical or abstract, and the Scientific or positive. Later writers saw salvation through increasing intervention by men into the affairs of nature and societies.

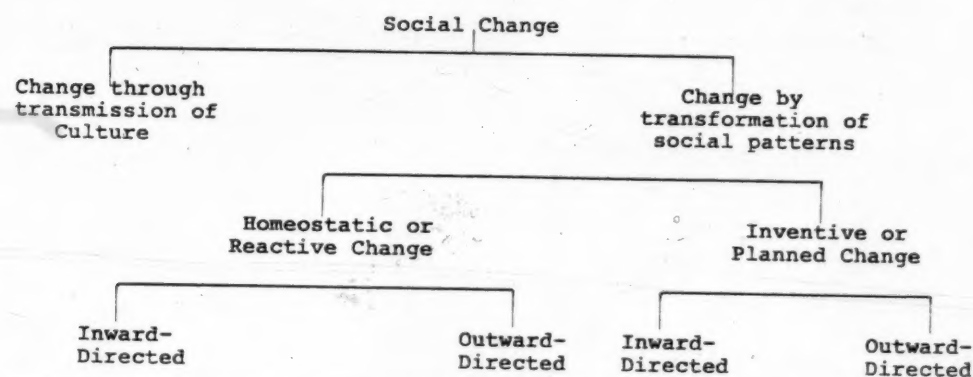
The willed transformation of society through conflict (e.g., Marx, Hegel) or reasoned argument (Owen, Godwin, Proudhon, de Tocqueville, Mill, H. Spencer) was not only possible, but was to be encouraged. Secular ethics demanded it, as a means of balancing (or levelling) the discrepancies of vested power in ruling classes and the needs of labour.

The increasing division of labour in the 18th and 19th centuries, included a proliferation of secular interventionists, usually in the form of small business-men, colonizing capitalists, lawyers, industrialists and military enterprises. Secular interventionists slowly replaced the clergy who had maintained a leading role in 'non-secular' social intervention for hundreds of years.

With the rise in professionalism came the further surrender of man's natural rights to society, not solely to the state (in western Europe and North America) or to the church. And the extension of science into the realm of individual and social behavior through sociology, psychology, political science, capped the movement to entrust many of man's worldly needs into the hands of trained experts. Thus the guidance of important aspects of planned change in western cultures became a pluralistic exercise, often involving experts in concert, and often at the expense or reluctant approval of traditional authorities.

Figure 5.

Historical Categories of Social Change



(This taxonomy of social change situations was developed by Harbans Singh Bhola in an unpublished paper, "Categories of Social Change", delivered at a faculty seminar on educational change, School of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, December, 1965).

We are thus in a position to defend the sociological view that among the main characteristics of modern western man are his orientation to planned change, self-reliance, ambition, and social integration (Wilkie, 1975). Nowhere has this been more evidenced than by the 20th-century growth of professional disciplines of 'intervention' or change agency (e.g., medicine, law, dentistry, psychiatry, social work, anthropology, sociology, community development, social planning, business administration/management development, human resources development, agricultural economics, adult education). These activities are legitimized by their inclusion in university faculties which offer undergraduate and graduate degrees or certificates.

Some of these disciplines have long-standing traditions, e.g., law, medicine, and we as citizens are generally knowledgeable about what agents from these institutions do. For instance, they are seen as necessary to human welfare in our culture, for much of what we do involves our health and our legal rights and obligations. However, whether the other sources of change agents are, or should be, perceived as necessary to the common good is, I believe, a question of time. Most are in their infancy as applied, accountable professions, and are thus still forming their goals, internal code of ethics, professional entrance and graduating standards, legal status, and so on. Social work is perhaps the most quickly advancing discipline towards full professional accreditation and public acceptability, apart from psychiatry and the other 'necessary' professions. Some modernization theory, however, would tend to indicate that with increasing urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization these less recognized professional areas will soon become necessary to the public welfare (Morse, Ashford, et. al., 1969; Moore, 1967, 1974; Smelser, 1973; Gusfield, 1967).

Unlike the father of four who brought new knowledge (as 'bad tidings') to an unaware and unprepared client (his family), most agents of planned change are invited to bring new ideas, values, facts or skills into a change episode by a client group. Some change agents are advocates who advance their views or those of their client groups, upon the larger society or a segment of it, in ways which contain non-violent

and violent social activism - Martin Luther King, Ralph Nader, Saul Alinsky, Pierre Vallieres. Social action agents often perceive outside power structures as the 'enemy', and adopt change strategies which aim at coercing by force or co-opting by persuasive tactics, the power of their target system. The dialectics created by 'reactive change' strategies nonetheless may a) be warranted, b) contain elements of truth and hysteria or hyperbolized argument, or c) be unwarranted, or founded upon false premises. Usually, change formulated around social activist strategies can only be adequately assessed after the fact, since the actions taken during the course of the change are seldom amenable to accurate interpretation or to controlled observation.

Social activist strategies often attack status quo values and institutions which develop or foster these values. Such activists are therefore excluded from the roster of tactics taught by state assisted, Western professional schools. In CD, social activist methods have historically been associated with achieving minority group rights and goals. More recently, sub-groups of the moral majority middle-class, from farmers to school teachers, have adopted activist strategies in seeking their ends. This has helped to legitimize power-coercive strategies and professional advocacy roles, although these changes in CD are still confined to back-room discussions, occasional journal articles, and rare training curricula.

Non-activist planned change refers to the democratic, voluntary participation of agents and client/target systems with informed consent, in a rationally guided process of needs facilitation or problem-resolution. It is "the re-learning on the part of an individual or group (1) in response to newly perceived requirements of a given situation requiring action, and (2) which results in a change in the structure and functioning of social systems" (Zaltman and Duncan, p. 10).

Agents in planned change may be graduates of professional schools or institutions funded totally or in part, by Canadian provincial and federal governments. This economic dependency implies that a level of ideological co-optation exists at least among elites at the negotiation levels of both institutions, and carries the further inference that course content and teacher biases reflect at least roughly the values of the umbrella institution or the donor-state. And presumably the university and state reflect societal-wide values or at least the main values of the dominant elites. Hence training programs for change agents tend to produce status quo professionals, specialists who intervene, teach, diagnose, consult, implement and evaluate from a value orientation acceptable in varying degrees to common men, deprived groups, and elites. The assumption is made in training professional change agents that a core set of values and applied intervention methods exist which are compatible with the tolerance limits of the

general social order. Graduates, although they may choose to do so, are not expected to engage in violent or activist confrontation tactics because such methods exceed the tolerance limits of the social order. Most 'normal' societal institutions won't hire agents with these leanings. Hence, activist agents, with violent-type tendencies mostly operate from the "grassroots" level, working not with institutions already in existence but with sympathetic individuals and groups.

Activist agents attempt to create counter-institutions for those individuals supposedly victimized by powerful elite, Establishment organizations. Ralph Nader's civilian automobile-safety organization, although maintaining an activist philosophy, has not transgressed the tolerance extremities of society because it has been able to make its goals and intervention methods legitimate in the eyes of many car owners, thereby attracting a following from a cross-section of social classes. His often brilliant use of the media (TV, radio, newspapers) has contributed to his success so far as an authentic agent of change.

The Greenpeace Foundation (against the killing of whales and seals) is an activist group of change agents whose acceptability by the general population is still in jeopardy, not because their ecological purposes are immoral, but moreso because their techniques of intervention are too radical for the mainstream of society to accept. They sail in small boats in front of whaling and sealing ships;

they tie themselves to the ships; they conduct boisterous anti-hunt campaigns on the docks in whaling ports. Also, they pose a threat to the livelihood of many sealers and whalers, thus putting the rights of men against the rights of animals in a public debate for which there are few precedents in this country. Greenpeace may yet prevail, given changes in how we value animal 'rights'.

Depending on local circumstances, the CDer may serve his client as a professional 'advisor', 'facilitator-enabler', 'consultant', or 'advocate', and in one or more of the following intervention modes:

- 1) self-help, non-directive, cooperative, normative-re-educative (involving non-action research)*
- 2) conflict, confrontation, activist-advocacy, power-coercive (involving action research)**
- 3) rational-technical, planning, systems assistance, data gathering and analysis (involving non-action, research, but may involve active research)

* Non-action research is simply research for the CD process.

** Action research is research about the CD process (Blakely, 1978).

CD theory generally is a composite of 1) and 3) above.

CD may be viewed, as we have as;

1. a process (progression of changes in terms of specified criteria)
2. a method (means to a highly specific end)
3. a program (time-based list of activities and procedures)
4. a movement (crusade or program with an emotional dynamic) (Sanders, 1975;p.458).

North American CD interventions, as found in the CDS Journal, attest to a general confidence in dominant liberal values. Therefore, professionally planned change results in incremental and specific rewards to clients (or communities), and is not generally disruptive of the local cultural balance and division of labour. Buildings may be constructed, roads may be built, new organizational structures may develop, new economic programs for farmers and businessmen may be secured, and local community autonomy may be assisted. But the majority of CD activities (still (see all volumes of the CDS Journal) affirm a widespread commitment by professional agents and clients to the Establishment. This is not the case, however, with social action interventions. There is a gentle shift of late towards more community action techniques (Stinson, 1980; pp/137-153) in CD literature, and this is in keeping with a shift to new approaches in the social sciences generally (Betz, 1979; McClung Lee, 1978; Phillips, 1971). These approaches embrace humanist ideology, hermeneutical/ethnomethodological philosophy and applied psychology techniques.

Amid the various strategies available to North American practitioners from planned change literature (Wharf, 1979; Lewis and Lewis, 1977; Baldock, 1979), emerges the common assumption that freedom lies in self-rule, in individual self-expression, in freedom of assembly, of speech, and so forth. Action techniques and action research are new ways to guarantee this basic tenet of western-liberal democracy.

Advocacy in Applied Social Science

Given that most CDS members reflect statuses of social scientists generally this 'new' approach to community development and social change generally, is nowhere better illustrated and supported than in G. H. Weber and G. J. McCall's, Social Scientists as Advocates (1978). Here a collection of authors from such disciplines as social work, law, anthropology, sociology, community psychology and urban planning, speak collectively in favour of social science advocacy as a means to redress social injustices and inequalities. "Then clearly the further development of theories of social justice (or injustice) must rank as the central task in elaborating the theoretical basis of advocacy" (p.207). Advocacy 'theory' as such is as yet piece-meal, lacking extensive empirical support for its professional justification among most social scientists.

However, the pendulum of value orientations within the social sciences continues to swing, and is presently moving in the direction of the humanists. A quick glance at leadership statements found in a decade of bulletins from such professional organizations as the Society for the Study of Social Problems, the American Sociological Association, reveal immediately an overwhelming concern for social science's impotence in positively affecting the balance between justice and injustice (see ASA Footnote, August, 1980, and October, 1980). Traditional 'value-free' positivism in sociology, for example, has been under fire from such humanist notables as Lee, Becker,

Gouldner, Rapapport, Barnes, Phillips, Bauman and Charles Reasons.

CDers as Applied Social Scientists: Attendant Issues

Community developers are trained as humanists by over 64 American institutions of high education and 2 Canadian, in programs to at least the Master's level. At the University of Alberta, for example, the curriculum emphasis is on field techniques and methods, community development theory, and human relations training (see 1980 Graduate Studies calendar). Social action research and advocacy are techniques slowly integrating into CD practitioner training, and for apparently good reasons:

Community development has emerged as a vital force in democratic participation in community self-help during the last fifty years. During this time it moved from primary emphasis on economic development in its embryonic years to a holistic approach toward community capacity building. Whether it retains this emphasis depends largely on the courage, vision, and initiative of citizens and practitioners; it is much easier to look to government for solutions than to take the hard road of self-reliance. In the future more issues, such as energy, inflation, and high interest rates, will be of a public nature; how we decide these issues could determine whether we remain a democracy.

(Phifer, et. al., 1980:36)

Community development as a profession is humanistic and based on democratic principles; it professes its advocacy publicly on the assumption that social pluralism and community autonomy are good things. CD as an ideology amounts to some kind of amalgam of populist, pragmatic liberalism, with CDers carrying the tools of liberation.

But what are the central issues associated with social scientists doing CD? The literature is replete, and here only a few prominent ones can be cited. These are:

1. The right or duty of social scientists to make value-judgments, and to act on them individually or on behalf of a client or sponsor;
2. the historical shift from Renaissance treatments of knowledge as a source of enlightenment with intrinsic value, to knowledge as a source of power or form or 'private property', with extrinsic value (Barnes, 1979);
3. the choice of goals to which the change effort is directed, the definition of the target (people, policy) of change, the choice of means used to implement the intervention, and the assessment of the consequences of that intervention (Warwick and Kelman, 1975);
4. client confidentiality, deception versus informed consent with research subjects;
5. the legal ownership and protection of a scientists research data during and after the intervention period;
6. personal values of the practitioner versus community or client-group values, and the 'scientist-as-citizen dilemma';
7. sanctioning irresponsible practice or unethical professional behavior;
8. validation of social science research in the community as a basis for justifying the researcher's advocacy or 'ought' statements.

Protagonists and antagonists have emerged in the literature who attempt to resolve many of these issues through mostly deductive arguments, and mostly from irreconcilable

assumptions about the nature and role of social science, (see Betz, 1979). Consider for example, the lucid arguments advanced by Nettler (1980) and Laue (1978) regarding advocacy in sociology. Both authors begin from the antithetical views of traditional positivism on the one side, and qualitative, existential humanism on the other. Nettler defends a value-free, amoral sociology, otherwise known as "social cartography" ... "the ability to count who has done what, and when, and the ability to correlate these actions and their circumstances" (p.65). He claims the sociologist in applied settings, has no right to become a "physician to the body politic", a "moral entrepreneur".

Laue, on the other hand, posits that "all human social action (including doing sociology) is, a) value-laden, and b) political"; that "doing sociology in all its forms is social intervention and that all intervention is advocacy", that "any sociologist claiming to be "neutral" in anything other than the strictest technical sense is naive, misinformed and devious". There should occur, a) "the development of a self-conscious, prescriptive set of ethics for the practice of sociological advocacy, and b) dramatic changes in the institution of sociology predicted on service as well as survival needs of the discipline" (pp.172-89). Truth-finding and truth-telling should be combined with promoting social change, in a context guided by explicit, publicized ethical principles and fundamental human values.

The Nettler-Laue debate epitomizes the general tenor of verbal camps in sociology, fractured along ideological, methodological and paradigmatic lines. Yet in the CD profession there are few if any noticeable factions splintering off from the mainstream tradition of empirical research and guarded advocacy. As a relatively cohesive professional organization of functionalists and symbolic interactionists moving slowly into individualized advocacy, the Community Development Society sanctions the behavior of its member who mostly mediate between the needs of people and the ability of governments to facilitate these needs.

The schisms within social science concerning ethical conduct and forms of action research, retard the move into total membership advocacy of the CDS. A recent CDS brochure described the Society as an "organization concerned with creating and maintaining better communities in which to live and work and practice responsible citizenship" (CDS Brochure, February, 1981). A more than simply reporting and advisory role is implied by this characteristic.

The beliefs and values of the CDer will of course affect the choice of intervention behaviors he makes, as will the values and beliefs of his client. Assuming community groups in Canada and the US are seeking more autonomy and less government dependence, the niche for professional advocates is being cast, on the further assumption that knowledge and skills for local decision-making are less and less available.

Potential advocates in CD are well advised to seek out and understand the values and beliefs of community groups of agencies the practitioner may have as a client.

Most codes of ethics of professional social science associations contain the Kantian doctrine of treating people as ends in themselves (e.g., ASA, 1971). Yet in practice this dictum seldom seems to be applied. Often the Sibleys, Nettlers, Horowitz's and others who disclaim value interference in research, and who tend to believe truth follows from method only, lost sight of the reformist base upon which sociology was originally built. Also their epistemologies pre-judge the meaning of social science by restricting or reducing its goals to those of internal logic, technical competence, and professionalism. They have made a dogma of the science's belief in themselves, discouraging epistemological self-reflection and alternative methodologies which may lead elsewhere. As objects, not ends, people used in research therefore suffer the effects (not always obvious) of having the social distance increased between them and their investigators.

Emerging humanists in the social sciences see people as ends and attempt to create research methodologies (e.g., phenomenology) and interventions consistent with this value. They reject 'closet research' and the subsequent privatization of knowledge ivory-tower social scientists characteristically are guilty of (Phillips, 1971; Lee, 1978). They embrace a wider range of methodologies not only to "overcome

the chauvinism of science that resists alternatives to the status quo" (Feyerabend, 1975:47), but also to engage the public in their activities and to share the findings. In speaking of the anthropologist's role in social action research, Barnes (1979:174) says that "To do nothing about the use of his knowledge is to support silently a social order his knowledge should transform".

If social scientists are to continue to engage in CD activities as academics attached to colleges or universities, as government agents, or as private consultants, there should be created a publicly accountable way of safeguarding the rights and privileges of all those under the influence of a CD project, program, movement or process. Professional codes of ethics are necessary but insufficient protective devices, and client-agent contracts, although theoretically binding, are probably unenforceable due to lack of precedents in the courts.

Advocacy, as the real shift from 'is' to 'ought' as praxis, projects the utopian from the existential, what should be from what is, however small the scale of events. Since 'trait' theory tells us people respond more frequently to power as perceived charisma, status or prestige (i.e., those with money, property, knowledge, needed skills), the projecting of 'what ought to be' by those having any of these qualifications can, and does lead to dire and unfortunate consequences (e.g., Project Camelot). Advocacy therefore, to be a viable, responsible activity, requires

ethical positions to be known and accommodated somehow to the intervention process. Where opposite ethical views about the form, content or use of research data are intractable after lengthy attempts at reconciliation, advocates should withdraw from the intervention or change effort. Ethical positions then, need to be known at the outset of any CD effort.

Arthur Krantowitz, a physicist at Dartmouth and MIT has proposed the establishment of "Science Courts" to rule on advocacy-adversary disputes involving the ethical nature of research claims or policy statements (1980). He believes scientists must confess their ignorance to peers because if they don't they get stepped on. But outside the community (of scientists) many of them no longer feel bound by this rule of frankness" (p.86). Science Courts comprised of citizens and scientists would, 1) "separate facts from values, 2) separate judges from advocates, and 3) do it all in public". The idea is sound if the public can participate beyond merely token levels. If social scientists or physical scientists are to advocate specific policies or a new morality from their research findings, their accountability to clients and to their methodologies should be made to withstand public and peer investigation. For CDers and other professionals, regional "Social Science Courts" having democratic powers of clarification and censure, would have at least the effect of increasing the integrity of social scientists to their methods and to their clients.

No one wants fellow scientists to see his shoddy work, or his failings at human relations.

Characteristics of Change Agents

Professional change agents are employed as internal or external agents in public, governmental, or corporate (private) organizations, in change efforts directed at issues or concerns which often overlap with concerns or policies of other social groups. This group network of dependencies within which change is usually embroiled is shown in Figure 6 over. This is not a causal scheme of relationships since the direction of influence among the three social groups can be altered, e.g., government agencies and politicians do lobby towards corporations, citizens may directly influence corporate methods without government mediation. Change strategies adopted by change agents and/or their client systems generally reflect a consideration for wider traditions of influence beyond simply the local circumstances. In other words, the satisfying of needs cannot be done in a vacuum, ignoring the events outside the group's boundaries. This trinity of directed influences and change, depicted by the scheme in Figure 6 surrounds every planned change effort, and the agent's role is not only to influence the process of change, but to ensure that the process has perspective with regard to the usual 'flow' of relations with the other two groups. The meaning of any agent-directed planned change has significance beyond the client system, and this phenomenon is assessed and explained by the agent to his client. (see Figure 6 -

Figure 6.
The Three Levels of Social Organization
and their Analytical Products

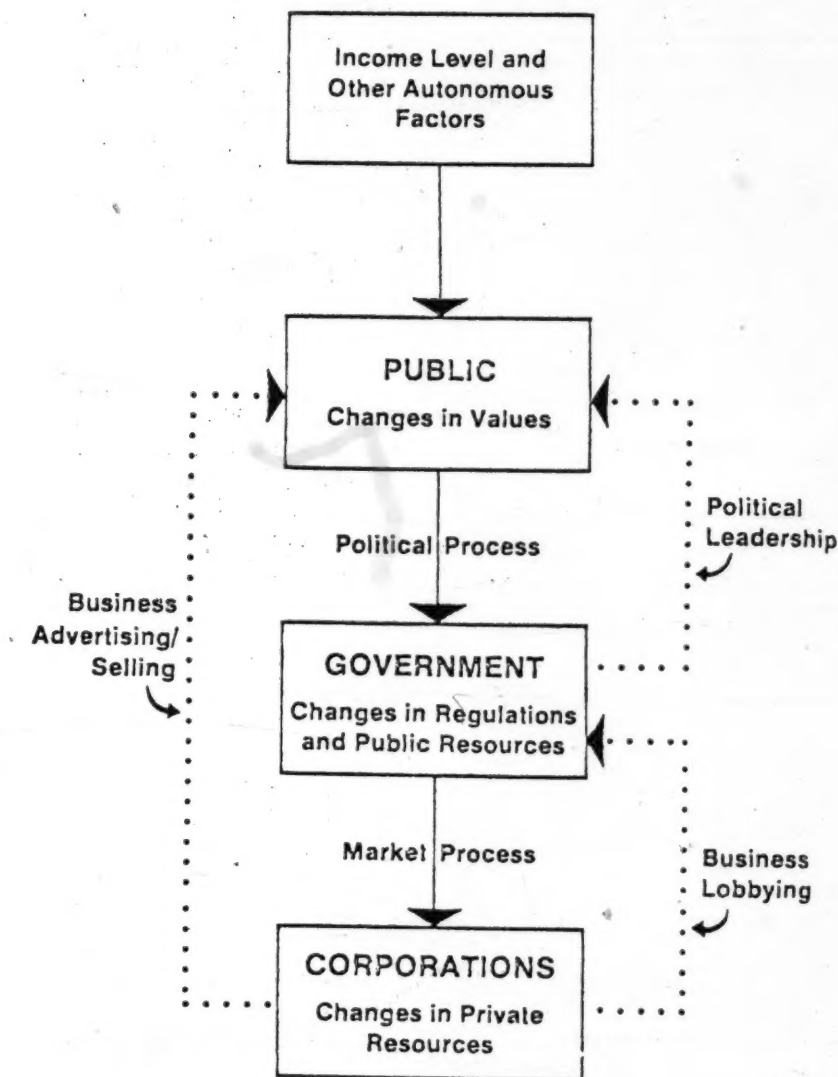


Figure 7-2

SOURCE: Neil H. Jacoby, "Capitalism and Contemporary Social Problems." *Sloan Management Review*. Winter 1971. p. 40.

Change agents draw their professional power from three basic sources: image (referent power) specific knowledge, (expert power) and skill (demonstratable power) (French and Raven, 1959). The image they conjure as a professional body, e.g., Community Development Society of America, Canadian Association of Social Workers, Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Management Association, and so forth, and the personal image they bring to the client-agent interface influence initial client trust and levels of cooperation.

Credentials of agents, whether the agents are on short, or long-term (i.e., internal agent) contract, can be powerful tools in early client negotiations. Clients tend to look first to credentials (e.g., degrees, diplomas, experience, reputation) and lastly to personality in deciding whether or not to engage a particular change agent. If the CDer is already a member of the client's system or community, then the process is made simpler. Credentials and personality, and the public recognition of the agent's professional organization are sources of trust and therefore of power (power defined here as the ability to successfully influence others' behavior) related to agent's image.

Knowledge and skill are, of course, power sources of pragmatic dimensions. They are only power sources in praxis. The agent's ability to alter a client system's behavior, if successful, produces an incremental adjustment to his authority in the group. 'Success breeds success' when applied knowledge and skills of the agent move the group closer to reaching their goals/satisfying their needs.

When performance of the agent follows directly from his preconceived image, that image given him by the client, his authority, legitimacy and effectiveness are heightened. One's image is also a function of attitudes and values one holds. Figure 7 below, lists most of the proven characteristics of types of change agents. They are,

Figure 7.

Characteristics of Successful Change Agents*

1. The Change Agent Should Have These Attitudes and Values:
 - * Primary concern for the benefit of the ultimate user (usually students and communities in the case of education).
 - * Primary concern for the benefit of society as a whole.
 - * Respect for strongly held values of others.
 - * Belief that change should provide the greatest good to the greatest number.
 - * Belief that clients have a need and a right to understand why changes are being made (rationale) and to participate in choosing among alternative change means and ends.
 - * A strong sense of his own identity and his own power to help others.
 - * A strong concern for helping without hurting, for helping with minimum jeopardy to the long- or short-term well being of society as a whole and/or specific individuals within it.
 - * Respect for existing institutions as reflections of legitimate concerns of people for life space boundaries, security, and extension of identity beyond the solitary self.
2. The Change Agent Should Know These Things:
 - * That individuals, groups, and societies are open inter-relating systems.
 - * How his other role fits into a larger social context of change.
 - * Alternative conceptions of his own role now and his potential role in the future.
 - * How others will see the role.
 - * The range of human needs, their interrelationships, and probable priority ranking at different stages in the life cycle.

- * The resource universe and the means of access to it.
- * The value bases of different subsystems in the macro-system of education.
- * The motivational bases of different subsystems in the macrosystem.
- * Why people and systems change and resist change.
- * How people and systems change and resist change.
- * The knowledge, attitudes, and skills required of a change agent.
- * The knowledge, attitudes, and skills required of an effective user of resources.

3. The Change Agent Should Possess These Skills:

- * How to build and maintain change project relationships with others.
- * How to bring people to a conception of their priority needs in relation to priority needs of others.
- * How to resolve misunderstandings and conflicts.
- * How to build value bridges.
- * How to convey to others a feeling of power to bring about change.
- * How to build collaborative teams for change.
- * How to organize and execute successful change projects.
- * How to convey to others the knowledge, values, and skills he possesses.
- * How to bring people to a realization of their own resource-giving potential.
- * How to expand people's openness to use of resources, internal and external.
- * How to expand awareness of the resource universe.
- * How to work collaboratively (synergistically) with other resource systems.
- * How to relate effectively to powerful individuals and groups.
- * How to relate effectively to individuals and groups who have a strong sense of powerlessness.
- * How to make systemic diagnoses of client systems and how to generate self-diagnosis by clients.

* Source: Havelock and Havelock, 1973, pp.70-72

however, personal traits, not immediately obvious to clients.

Credentials, as symbols used during the introductory phase of client-agent negotiations, give clients a strong indication of the values held by the agent; meeting with him usually confirms that his credentials, values and attitudes are congruent with the expected ideal.

Before examining in detail what agents specifically do, especially internal versus external change agents, I felt it wise to first make known the various models of social and/or organizational change which dominate the literature, so as to provide a frame of reference for the final analysis. Again, I will reiterate that most theories of organization expressed or implied by these models, are of the General Systems Theory type (functionalism, plus symbolic interaction theory, organizational development, and human relations theory). The 'eclectic' approach to planned change theory seems heavily favoured by CDers, community organizers, educators, social planners, and so on.

First, I will begin with general models of planned change.

Chin and Benne (1976) have argued that there are three historical perspectives of planned change (Figure 8): the "rational-empirical", the "normative-re-educative", and the "power-coercive". The first model or perspective assumes men are predominantly rational and moved by self-interest. "It is assumed that he (or they) will adopt the proposed change if it can be rationally justified and if it can be shown by the proposer(s) and he (or they) will gain by the change".

The second view, the normative-re-educative, does not deny rationality and intelligence, but further builds on the belief that change "will occur only as the persons involved are brought to change their normative orientations to old patterns and develop commitments to new ones".

To the above list of personal characteristics (Figure 7) can be added several others supplied by Zaltman and Duncan (1977:194-97):

1. motivation and drive
2. acceptance or tolerance of constraints (on freedom or action)
3. development commitment (to client system's resources and skills)
4. poise and 'backbone' (controlled, dignified leadership)
5. political finesse (in "packaging" the change program for constituents)
6. emotional maturity.

All of these traits are consistent with the ideal held for the Community Development profession. Finally, what motivates the agent towards effecting meaningful change in, or for his client, consists of not simply the rewards from client interaction, but of 1) direct financial incentives (competitive, fixed salary scheme), 2) indirect financial incentives (paid vacations, pensions, medical/health plans), and 3) non-financial incentives (contest prizes, trips, plaques, merchandise).

In voluntary organizations, internal (rarely external) change agents may provide their services without any of the above types of incentives. Volunteerism associated with organizational change reaps rewards on the agent like 'good feelings', community recognition, heightened sense of self-worth, and so on. Unfortunately, in large urban areas volunteerism is a declining phenomenon (Rossides, 1968). Voluntary organizations as client systems are often forced to depend on paid assistance, a debilitating course of action in many cases.

In effect, persons are 're-socialized' to different norms which means changes in attitudes, values, skills and significant relationships, "not just changes in knowledge, information, or intellectual rationales for action and practice".

Lastly, the third group of strategies or views assumes that persons can be made to comply with the "plans, directions, and leadership of those with greater power", whether it be authoritative/positional power or coercive power, legitimate or otherwise. Specifically, each model of change contains the following respective types of strategies:

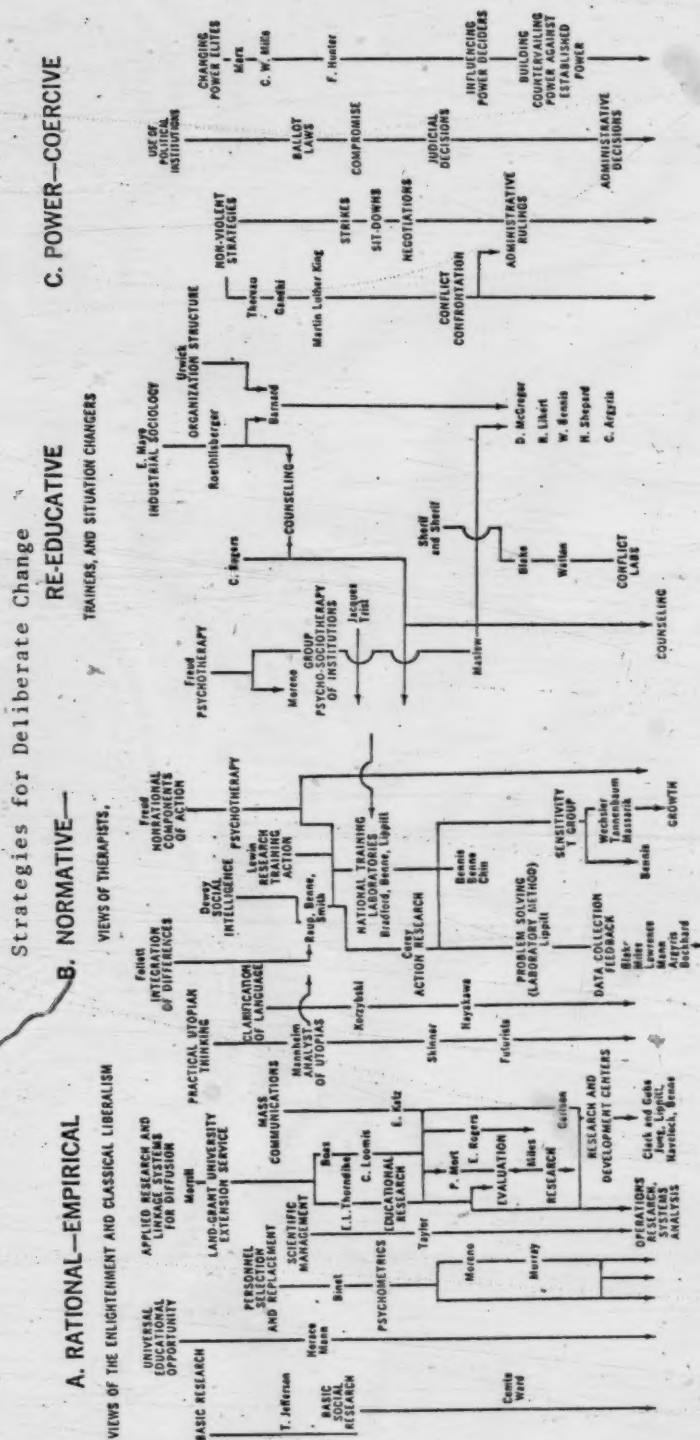
1. rational-empirical

- a) basic research and dissemination of knowledge through general education
- b) personnel selection and replacement
- c) systems analysts as staff and consultants
- d) applied research and linkage systems for diffusion of research results
- e) utopian thinking as a strategy of changing
- f) perceptual and conceptual reorganization through the clarification of language

2. normative-re-educative

- a) improving the problem-solving capabilities of a system
- b) releasing and fostering growth in the persons who make up the system to be changed

Figure 8.



Strategies of Deliberate Changing
 Source: Robert Chin and Kenneth Benne, "General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems", in *The Planning of Change*, 3rd edn., 1976, pp. 22-45

Figure 9.

Approaches to Planned Social Change			
Key Questions	Professional-Technical	Political	Countercultural
What are its general images of society?	Complex system with functionally specialized structure Organizations and communities based on technical rationality and bureaucratic authority Made up of consensually minded persons having interdependent economic relationships and moral obligations. Conflict is dysfunctional; harmony and natural order of consensus and cooperation preferred	Society consists of many different groups, each defined by the shared interests or values of its members Competition and conflict over resources are basic processes Distribution of power among groups with different interests determinative of societal functioning	Society consists of organizations which are uniformly overtechnical and overbureaucratic Organizations result in individual conformity and dehumanization Basic trend of social change is more of the same
What are its general images of the individual?	Normatively committed role occupants Information processors and problem-solvers Responsive to system-controlled rewards	Powerless to meet needs by himself or herself Interdependence and group membership required to satisfy needs False consciousness frequently prevents individual from satisfying his or her needs	Innately good—capable of love, joy, and creativity More emotional and intuitive than cognitive and rational Goodness is distorted and suppressed
What are its diagnoses of contemporary society?	Society, as managed by and represented by legitimate officials, is basically all right, although adjustments are needed. Change is inevitable. It arises from developing technology, larger scales of production, and administrative complexity. Maintenance of old bureaucratic patterns prevent adaptation to change.	State has failed in some of its regulatory functions. Power is concentrated in relatively small number of persons or organizations. Oppressed see resource allocation as unfair and elites see it as just but difficult to maintain. Laws, norms, intelligence systems, and socialization are seen as maintaining elite control: the powerless see them as oppressing them, and elites see them as not being effective enough.	Individual is alienated—evaluated in terms of material possessions and ability to produce. Society's institutions are repressive: anti-humanistic, racist, sexist, etc. Institutions operate to destroy people, land, and natural resources.
What are its priorities with regard to change?	Professionals need to plan and manage functional adaptations to change. Ongoing, incremental planned change Target of change is small groups, organizations, and social roles, attitudes and skills of individuals. Social planning at societal level Create rational, problem-solving systems	For oppressed it is altering consciousness and mobilization to achieve greater power and resources. For elites it is making their control more effective and more satisfying to exercise.	Individual change in self and life style, identity, and intimate relations Life styles centered on individuality, openness, and full acceptance of and participation in a community. Alternative organizations based fully on humanistic values and new life styles

Source: James E. Crowfoot and Mark A. Chesler, "Contemporary Perspectives on Planned Change: A Comparison", *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*, Vol. 10, 3 (1974), pp. 278.303.

3. power-coercive

- a) strategies of non-violence (e.g., Gandhi)
- b) use of political institutions to achieve change (e.g., educational legislation)
- c) changing through the recomposition and manipulation of power elites (e.g., Marxian, or activist).

(Chin and Benne, pp. 22-45)

The power-coercive model of change is consistent with GST to the extent that it approves of conflict or "negative feedback" only if it can be redirected into more socially useful channels. GST optimistically presumes men are pre-dominant, humanistic, cybernetics in social change will prevail. General systems theories assume a stance of radical empiricism: "they live the experience, but also attempt to describe and measure it" (Ball, p. 68). Most of the authors cited in this paper, regarding planned change theory, are of this persuasion.

Chin and Benne's scheme is somewhat complemented by that developed by Crowfoot and Chesler (see Figure 9). The latter listed "key questions" as the basis of model construction, not simply historical, thematic parallels. The 'professional-technical' approach is identical to Chin and Benne's 'rational-empirical', and is further supported by Argyris (1962), Likert (1961), Lippitt (1958), Schein (1969), Watson (1966) and Zetterberg (1962). The 'political' approach "stresses the organization of mass power, legitimate office, and the mobilization of elites" (p.279). It approximates Chin and Benne's 'power-coercive' model, and finds support from Alinsky (1969), Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Gamson

(1968), Kahn (1970), and Lenin (1943). The 'countercultural' model is similar to the 'normative-re-educative' model in its emphasis on growth of the individual in the system but differs in that it would not necessarily require an improvement in problem-solving. Its redemptive character emphasizes surrender rather than the application of a pre-determined methodology. Growth is primarily introspective and emotional. Protagonists include Buber (1949), Fairfield (1972), Fromm (1955), Nearing and Nearing (1970), Schutz (1971), Slater (1970), and the Bible (New Testament).

I would further argue that countercultural approaches constitute the opposite pole to open-conflict methods, in that blissful surrender to the comforts of brotherly isolation and quasi-religious ideology negates confrontation. It is not an approach adopted by most professional western change agents. As an "art form" or "social mutation" it has redeeming qualities (Yinger, 1977) in its ability to redirect men's often entrenched perceptions of reality and purpose towards values of love, gentleness, conservation, sharing, self-reliance and self-discovery. Counterculturalism closely approximates Roger's concept of "neotraditionalization" (1969:16), wherein a group reverts to former or traditional values as a reaction against the forces of modernization, e.g., 'Sanskritization' among Indian Srinivas, Black Muslims, Hippie communes, some Canadian Native groups.

Crowfoot and Chesler are the only authors I have discovered to have described the role-traits of countercultural

change agents, and to have them publicized in planned change literature is, I feel, important. Therefore, some main characteristics include:

- commitment to living a 'new' or different cultural pattern
- identified by membership in, or being closely related to communes, collectivities, cooperatives
- 'work' and 'non-work' are inseparable dimensions of their role
- creates structural settings for mutual growth among all participants and for development of a liberating organization
- often resist salary for their efforts
- skill preparation is often in the capacity of an informal apprenticeship
- shares external resources and his own knowledge and skills (C. and C., p.199)

In effect, countercultural agents and client systems merge into one unified 'gemeinschaft' in planned change efforts, a merger which is equivalent to the formation of a peer-reference group. Unlike most other unions between client and agent, the countercultural approach does not accede to the use of short or long-term contracts, scientific principles of intervention, research, and evaluation. Change agents in countercultural strategies are socialized before their major intervention efforts occur. In the other change models socialization occurs during the process of intervention in the group. The legitimacy of the agent is determined in advance of entry, whereas in the countercultural approach the agent earns his credentials. And since there are no socio-economic-status differences between client and agent after entry, the authenticity of the agent is prolonged while he is a member.

B. Internal vs. External Change Agents

Havelock's second and third features of a self-transforming client system (every agent's latent, if not explicit objective!) suggest roles for two specific types of change agents: the internal change agent and the external change agent. Few authors in planned change have focussed upon these two types, which are clearly distinguishable in role and function. By way of introduction to these important forms of agency I wish to list some of their properties as seen by client systems.

Internal Change Agent

Advantages:

- a) he knows the system
- b) he speaks the language
- c) he understands the norms
- d) he identifies with the system's needs and goals
- e) he is a familiar figure

Disadvantages:

- a) he may lack perspective
- b) he may not have the special knowledge or skill relevant to the innovation
- c) he may not have an adequate power base to elicit support
- d) he may have to live down his past failures
- e) he may not have the independence of movement in the organization
- f) he may have to face the difficult task of redefining his on-going relationships with the other members of the system
- g) he may place duty above reason

External Change Agent

Advantages:

- a) he starts fresh, unburdened by negative stereotypes

- b) he is in a position to have perspective and objectivity
- c) he may have access to a wider spectrum of research facilities and data
- d) he is independent of the power structure of his client system
- e) he is in a position to bring to the interface something genuinely new most of the time

Disadvantages:

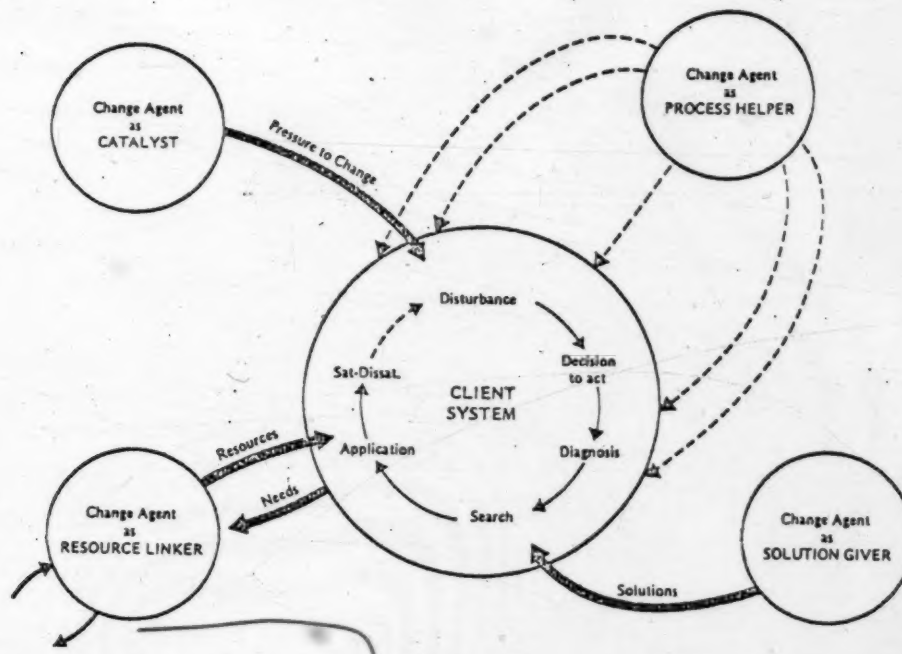
- a) he is a stranger and a potential threat to the system
- b) he may not understand the system sufficiently at first, or at all
- c) he may lack commitment

....Adaptation of Havelock, 1973; pp.50-53

Figure 10.

Havelock's general scheme of change agent linkages:

Four Ways to Be a Change Agent



Source> Havelock, 1973; p.8

One of the central problems with this comprehensive analysis is that most of the empirical base is from non-Western type cultures (Rogers and Bhowmik, 1971), or from laboratory/middle-class/behavioral science studies (Lippitt et al., 1958). Modernization processes in Third World countries, and small-group, human relations research in urban USA, may have some heuristic value in constructing models of change and change agent roles.

Both internal and external change agents of planned organizational change, influence by their actions one or more of the system's human, task, structural, or technological sub-systems.

Since organization, social systems, and behavioral science theories usually form part of the agent's training curriculum, the test for his professional competence lies mostly in his abilities to sustain success in practical situations. 'How to do' things in applied settings constitutes a skill which cannot be totally taught; it has to be experienced and repeated to gain the usual level of competence in one's field. One can benefit to a degree from simulated learning episodes during training to become a change agent, but these efforts can in no way substitute completely for the public realm of intervention.

CDers or professional change agents may be engaged informally, or contracted formally for indefinite or definite periods of time. Client systems, which hire change agents for an indefinite period of time are usually obliged

to provide certain inducements to prolong the relationship, such as inflation-indexed salary, health and insurance benefits, and good working conditions. Conversely, agents who are hired by such clients as 'permanent' employees must also provide continuous performance obligations in the way of competent work, a certain loyalty to the system, and an acceptable personal image with respect to language, code of dress, style of presentation.

Professional-technical clients usually have fairly rigid requirements, stressing 'character' and conformity to the rules; political client systems pay lesser attention to external features of the agent and more to his abilities to do the task for which he was hired. Countercultural clients may stress ideological conformity above all other, if any, requirements for membership.

Change agents who choose to work for the goals of a client system as a paid employee, over an indefinite 'contract' time, are called internal change agents. They are professionals who choose to effect change from some vantage point within a client system. And their credentials and experience before being selected determines their initial placement status in the system, and to some extent their promotability after a declared or tacit apprenticeship. Usually, their credentials permit placement in middle- to upper-management levels, although many may begin service as program coordinators or trainers of various types.

External change agents differ from internal agents in several respects. They are not a member of the client system in the formal sense, although their engagement process may cause all formal distinctions to disappear. They have no duty to perform beyond the expectations bounded by the contract, nor must they show loyalty to the client system except in defense of the contract to third parties. They are not so constrained ideologically or intellectually, nor is their public behavior or mode of dress. Their freedom to facilitate change is not usually co-opted by simply one client; they may work with many simultaneously, even with clients in competition over the same resources.

Client systems are prone to use change agents who can be objective yet loyal to the change effort itself. External agents have the advantage here as they would be seen to have little motive to bias the feedback or the innovation. I believe that the maintenance of the change is better done by an external agent. This is because I have found from my own experiences as both an internal and later, an external change agent, that there is more 'force' or commitment made to a change by parties who are dissimilar in many respects, than to changes made by similar agencies. I especially discovered this in working with Native and various ethnic groups in Northwestern Ontario. Also, I have found that dealing with resistance is better done by an external agent for the following reasons. First, one's status collapses into that of the group with whom one is working, for although you may

be an outside "expert" you must conform to the rules, latent or manifest, of the process. This 'levelling' of worth, among parties to the change allows for effective confrontation and problem-solving which internal agents, whose status does not collapse into the change group, are often unable to facilitate. Second, external agents have less to lose from dealing with resistance than do internal agents; their autonomy is not affected by their failure to cope, nor do they 'lose face'.



Figure 11, is a schematic representation of the variables associated with the external agent-client system interface (interface is defined as the total period of interaction between agent and client). The external agent is seen to bring knowledge, skills neutrality and motivation to the interface. As a professional his knowledge and skills are presumably at a high level and cannot be matched by any member or members of the client system; otherwise the client would have used an internal agent. He is neutral in that he has no direct or invested interest in the client system's welfare apart from the innovation at hand. He is temporarily extrinsically motivated, i.e., money, unless of course, he owns shares in the organization or is doing it voluntarily, in which cases claims to neutrality would be suspect. Objective factors such as scheduling of meetings, structuring the exchange of knowledge, goods or services, implementing and/or observing the change or innovation, doing any studies, research or evaluations - are maximized

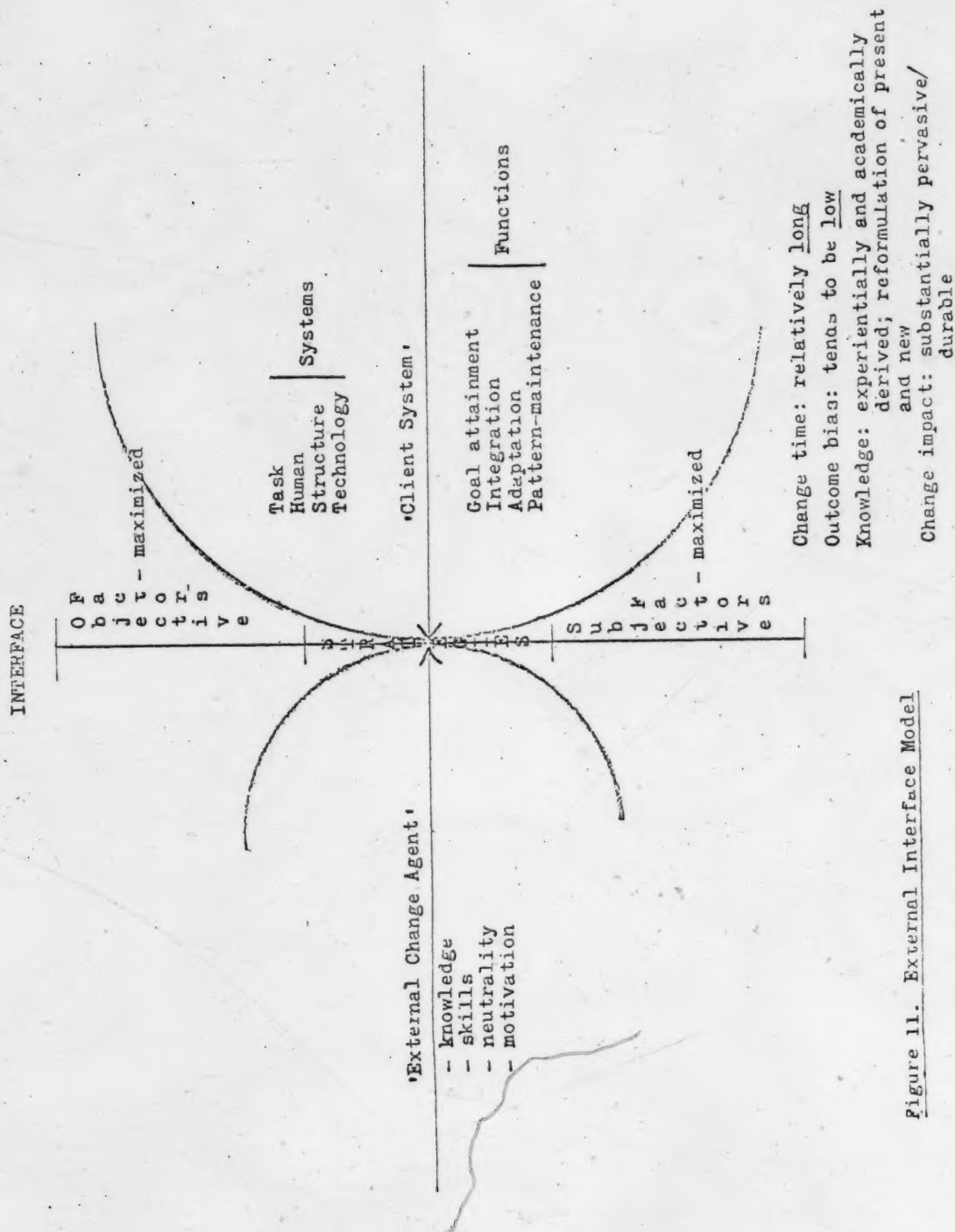
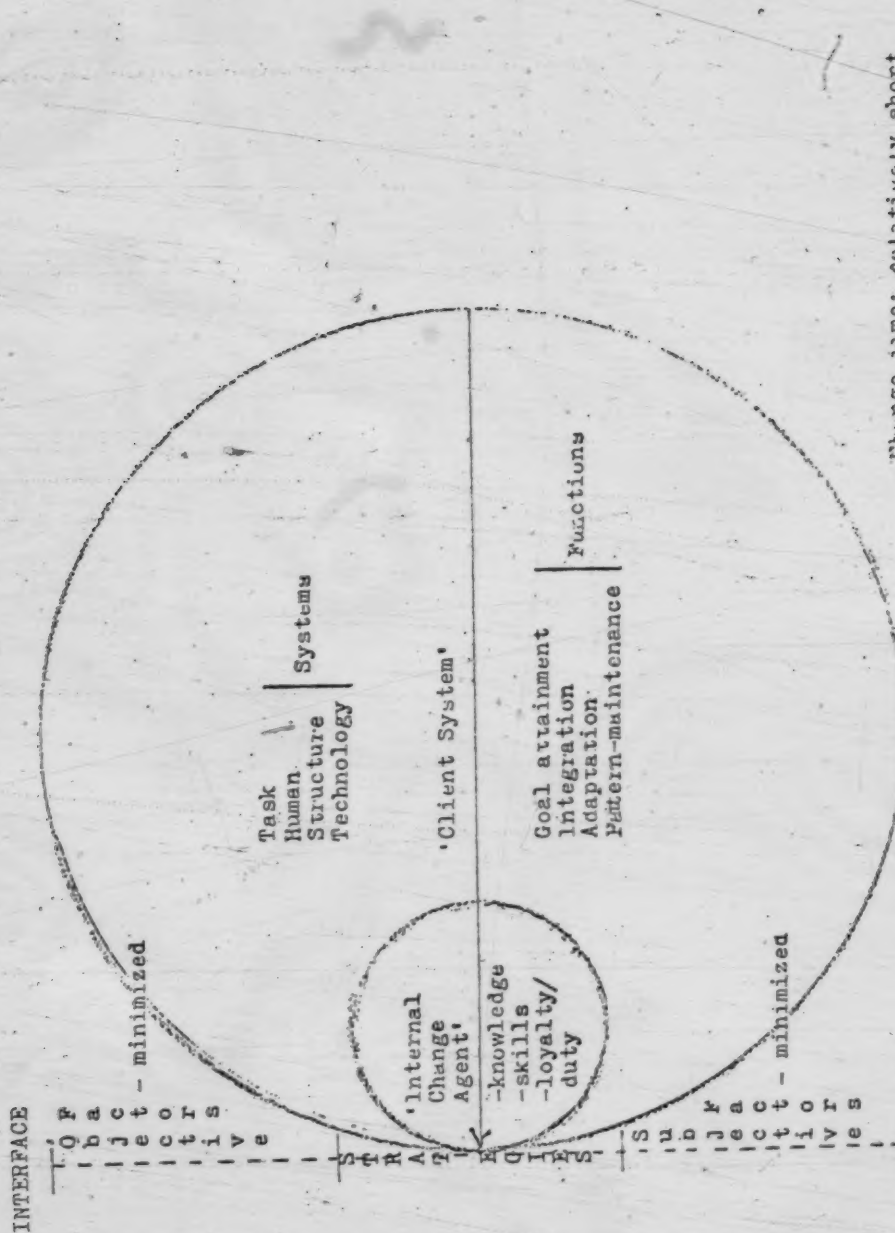


Figure 11. External Interface Model

primarily because the external agent is not familiar with the physical, social, procedural and technological aspects of the system. This often makes the change time longer than in the case of an internally employed agent. Also, subjective factors such as styles of presentation, values, norms, attitudes, and assumptions about process, may differ extensively, and hence the personality-integration of the external agent into the client system may similarly slow down the change time.

External agents are capable of reformulating present knowledge and offering more 'new' information as a result of their widely varied experiences interacting with a mosaic of client systems. They may also have access to a wider network of articles, books, journals, etc., because of their more 'electric' needs. Where, for example, external agents are members of an organization or agency but are interacting with another agency in planned change, their autonomy of image, knowledge, and skill will be reduced somewhat by their constraining affiliation. Private agents are the most autonomous but perhaps the most insecure either financially or psychologically.

Figure 12, shows the relationship of the internal change agent to his client system. Being a member means that objective and subjective factors are minimized, except for bias, loyalty and/or duty. These tend to be maximized and therefore interfere with qualitative aspects of the innovation by distorting the efficiency of actions and communications.



Change time: relatively short
 Outcome bias: tends to be high
 Knowledge: academically derived;
 reformulation of present
 Change impact: parochial/
 amorphous

Figure 12. Internal Interface Model

The mitigating strength of 'checks and balances' to the process is weaker in the internal change model because internal change agents' activities have the effect of reinforcing the system's boundaries, and hence closing it inwards, not opening it outwards. Stability-maintenance organizations have this feature of boundary rigidity because of intense and prolonged use of internal change agents. The change time of the agent-client interface is shortened by routine and usual anticipation, although the biased nature of the change in content and purpose is evident to outside observers.

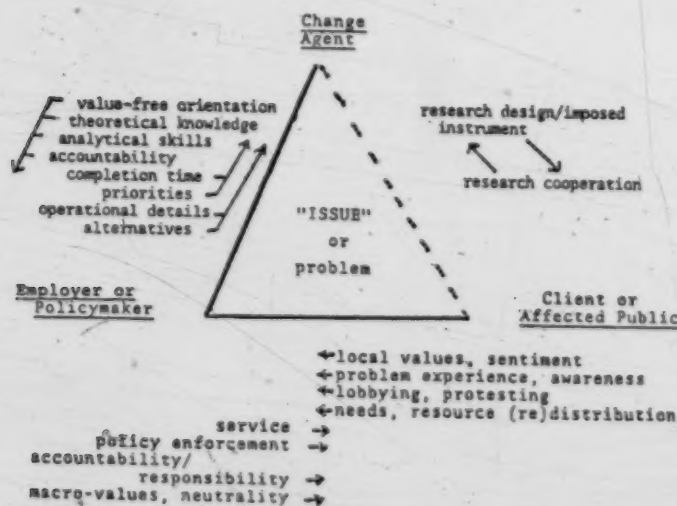
To avoid these occurrences many organizations have a policy of staff rotation in attempts to remain in effect, open systems. Over time, internal change agents contribute to the system's entropic tendencies because new knowledge is less frequently introduced and habits tend to entrench. That is why knowledge brought to the agent-client interface is often a reformulation of existing knowledge which, although it has the appearance of innovativeness, does not add to the system's resource base. Changes which result from the use of internal change agents then, have an amorphous character since it is soon discovered that remedial or incremental changes are necessary to supplement the deficiencies of the initial change.

The skill of clients is to know when internal agents should be used, instead of external agents. The use of external agents carries with it often prohibitive cost

factors which must be weighed against seemingly a more effective, viable change induced with external assistance.

In many cases change agents are employed by private and public agencies or organizations specifically for purposes of researching, diagnosing, implementing and evaluating social policy. As internal agents which deal with public issues, thus making them external agents to public organizations (target systems), they are regularly employed to facilitate change for change-consuming organizations. Often their "targets" are local non-profit associations wishing to strengthen their resource base by the addition of liquid assets, technologies or personnel. The triadic nature of professional agents who work for one agency as an internally employed member, and for another as an external interventionist, I have depicted below.

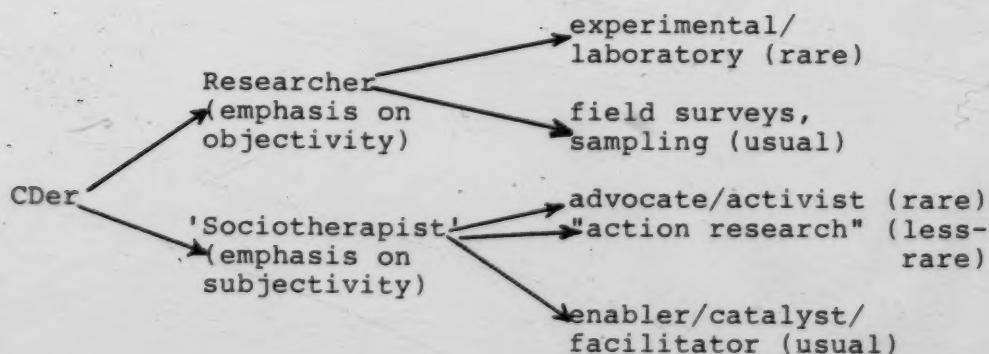
Figure 13 The Triadic Relationship



(Note: The dotted line signifies secondary accountability of the agent. He is primarily responsible to his employer)

one method of enhancing the likelihood of ethical conduct, and to the extent that professionals possess at least these publicly recognized standards, the inclination exists to associate or correlate professional change agency with ethical intervention strategies, trust notwithstanding. And I am simply making the further assertion that the ethical nature of intervention strategies where external change agents are used, is more likely to be upheld or intensified due to the fact that external professionals have more restrictions on their motives. Hopefully, this will become clear(er) in the following chapters. This observation, and analysis of CDers as change agents generally, are compounded by the fact that Community Developers are not, by most usual standards or definitions, professionals. But for them wishing it hard enough may make it so eventually. What is important to realize is that they call themselves 'professionals' and espouse to conduct themselves accordingly.

In their idealizations of professional ideology, CDers separate out several distinguishable, but often intermeshed, sets of activities. These are:



It appears that from my experiences and from the literature (publications of the CSAA, ASA, CDS, CAUT, Secretary of State, CAAE, CESA, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Industry Trade and Commerce, DREE, etc.) an increasing number of professional, cultural and locality based communities, are employing the service of external change agents. This fact alone does not mean that external change agents (and CDers) are more ethical, nor that the change process itself is made more responsible to the needs and wants of all concerned. But it does tend to support the view that where new knowledge is required, or resources of many kinds, groups and organizations of the change-consuming and stability-maintenance types especially, are looking outward for assistance at an increasing rate. Unfortunately, instances of professional malpractice among change agents and CDers particularly, are simply not being reported or investigated, thus leaving the impression among the public and professionals alike that all is well. The insular or protective environment of internal change agents makes it even far less likely that malpractice or professional impropriety becomes publicized. Hence, external agents by definition are more exposed to scrutiny, and probably figure disproportional in any or all statistics about professional irresponsibility where such datum can be found.

Regardless, at least logically, the use of external over internal change agents appears to be the more appropriate decision for clients who can afford, in terms of

time, energy or money, to do so. I shall concede however, that there are too many intervening variables to make a causal connection between the use of external change agents and the ethical content of intervention strategies. Level of training, codes of ethics, publishing or report writing requirements, and so on, are control devices imposed upon professional change agents by their employer and/or sponsoring institution, and by their professional association. These devices are meant to regulate the motives for action of the agent, as well as the action itself. And as Schlick (1962:157) maintained, "One can easily determine that in practice we make an agent the more responsible the more motives we can find for his conduct".

But how do we measure 'trust' for example? Bidwell (1970:40) claims that trust is the sole basis for a professional's moral authority, and further that trust depends on 1) the reputation of the professional's office (his esteem or worthiness), 2) the client's technical familiarity with the professional service, and 3) the client's need for professional service. If Bidwell is right, there is no fail-safe guarantee that even if these factors are optimal, complete trust and completely moral behavior will follow. Client's may be responding to other cues (e.g., age, sex, personal charisma, ethnicity) which are not communicated during the interface, yet which influence trust levels and moral rectitude.

The imposition of behavioural control devices upon professionals however, by their fraternal organizations, is

A role, is "a pattern of behavior, structured around specific rights and duties and associated with a particular status position within a group or social situation" (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969:352), and a 'role-set' is "that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (Merton, 1957:369). Community Developers bring to their quasi-professional role of practitioner of social science, a status (a definable and relatable position in a social structure, dealing with rights and responsibilities) obtained from their respective training institutions and other personal qualifications.

Since, however, most CDers are employees of academic or government institutions (as shown in the CDS Roster, 1979); and since there are many more non-CDS developers performing similar functions throughout Canada and the United States (literally any social scientist who works with community groups) - the attached intellectual remains the role norm. But without the guidance of a professional code of ethics CDers as primarily attached intellectuals, must defer to the conduct codes of their respective employers and/or their respective disciplines (e.g., ASA, CSAA). The majority, it would follow, of CD interventions made by sociologists, social workers, anthropologists, economists, adult educators, and so forth, are not overseen for ethical content by a conduct code derived out of CD theory and practice per se. Most CDers' roles, because of an appreciable lack of coherent CD theory, remain defined a) by or through other traditional social science disciplines, and b) from

localized needs and circumstances. In other words, the content of what CDers do accrues from their original discipline training, and the skills they deploy generally reflect experiences gained from similar or repeated local involvements, especially those which have been successful.⁷

To this extent, an examination of the ethics of CDer interventions in CD efforts, is an examination of the role social scientists generally. And in the next chapter, unless otherwise noted, what CDers are seen to do in various local situations will be assumed to parallel, by and large, the similar actions of other social scientists who do not call themselves CDers, but whose professional associations possess a code of ethics.

CHAPTER IV

4

IV Codes of Ethics

With the exception of advocacy roles, community development in planned change involves unobtrusive leadership in consensus building, problem identification, clarification and analysis (Huie, 1975:21). Many social scientists who venture out of academia into applied settings are more adequately prepared to perform the last three of the above-mentioned roles, but they rarely are trained in the skills of consensus building. Where this requirement for intervention arises in actual community settings, a great degree of role strain may occur (van Til, 1974). In recent CD literature, this role strain is evident among sociologists, for example, engaged in CD research. (Lionberger and Wong, 1980).

Consensus building in CD is the process of mobilizing a sufficient level of agreement among community groups, organizations, and, in some cases, total communities, such that efficient and democratic decision-making can occur. This need not always be a totally unanimous level of agreement; a manageable majority may suffice, depending upon pre-agreed limits.

Consensus building requires leadership, defined by Williams (1981:66) as "the ability to induce followers to act on goals that represent the values, wants and needs of both leaders and followers". And leadership skills are not usually part of the educational package of social scientists.

CDers, however, who take graduate level training in CD departments, are generally exposed to various techniques of behavioral intervention (e.g., human relations or group dynamic training). They may also use leadership skills to teach leadership to other potential leaders in a community (Williams, 1981; Griffiths, 1971).

Apart from the leadership issue there are many other areas of concern which affect how the CDer-cum-social scientist performs his role (Yoak, 1979:39-48). These can be summarized as:

- What are the differences in roles between an academic who ventures out into community-based research, and a CD practitioner? (A social science researcher may lack human relations skills; a humanistic CDer may lack research skills.)
- knowledge of community structures, dynamics; human behavior research; methodology, process, teaching, training; evaluation of CD effectiveness.
- Awareness of perceived status, power, and influence by the CDer of himself, and by the client of the CDer.
- As an external change agent to the issue or project, to who is he ultimately accountable and how?
- Responsibility for post-interface effects on data and on people.

Although the literature in CD continues to be dominated by the publications of attached-academics, doing research in the traditional "rational-technical" style of intervention, articles submitted by CDers trained by graduate CD departments are increasing in number. They reflect a growing interest in "normative-re-educative" intervention

strategies and advocacy.⁸

A further concern is the fact that the CDS, as the only organization for CDers extant, does not have a code of ethics. Yet CDers' "process model" of CD gives them influence or control over knowledge (content), process (procedure), and behavior (human interaction) dimensions of the interface (See Schler's CD model, 1970; Appendix A). This means that the only regulative power over agent malpractice rests with his employer or, in the case of private consultants, perhaps with no one. If, as in most cases so far, CDers belong to professional associations in their own discipline areas as well as (perhaps) to the CDS, then employer codes and/or professional codes would apply. Private CD consultants may or may not be members of the CDS or of professional associations having a code of ethics.

1. Examples of Professional Codes

A professional code of ethics is a list of moral edicts outlining what a member can or cannot do in conducting his contracted services with a client or employer. It acts as a control device to protect the public, students and clients from exploitation or incompetent delivery of services. It also acts to maintain the profession itself as a reputable and responsible body, capable of self-policing and disciplining of its members.

Most social science disciplines have a code of ethics to govern their respective membership activities (ASA, CSAA,

APA, AAA). The history of these codes is recent, and fraught with problems of definition, purpose, and difficult malpractice cases (Orlans, 1973:51-80).

Here are some representative ethical principles from several of these codes:

Anthropology:

- the anticipated consequences of research should be communicated as fully as possible to the individuals and groups likely to be affected...
- he should not knowingly falsify or color his findings...
- he should undertake no secret research, or any research whose results cannot be freely derived and publicly reported

(AAA, May, 1971)

Psychology:

- the ethical investigator protects participants from physical and mental discomfort, harm and danger...
- information obtained about the research participants during the course of an investigation is confidential.

(APA, December, 1972)

Sociology:

- in any public presentation of their findings, researchers must acknowledge the contributions or assistance of all who collaborated in the research...
- a professor has the responsibility to train students to conduct themselves professionally before they carry out research...
- the researcher has the responsibility to make all ethical decisions in his or her research and its use.
- sociologists and anthropologists have a professional responsibility to provide promptly references requested by colleagues and students regarding their professional activities, grant applications or career decisions.

(CSAA, April, 1979)

Precursors to the establishment of these codes in the social sciences, and others in the physical sciences, have been such statements as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN, 1948; Nuremburg Code, 1946; and the Declaration of Helsinki, 1964 (Reynolds: 1979:428-41).

As protective of the public as the above representative statements may seem, it should be noted that these performance tenets have been created without public involvement. "The professional is neither elected nor appointed by the political process of society, and the professional function is technically defined and commercially remunerated, pure and simple". (Huer, 1980:317). The public's impressions of professionalism and ethical conduct are most likely gleaned from media reports. If the hypothesis that "media access and media comprehension is a class-related phenomenon" is true, then it would follow that professions are most understood, but not necessarily appreciated, by those laymen who can read and write and purchase TVs and newspapers. The obvious disadvantage for the professional is that media "truth" is unverifiable for average readers, and hence predominantly accepted or rejected "on faith". Yet an informed public should continue to be one of many professional objectives for CDers and others. Unfortunately, often inaccessible or obscure professional journals limit knowledge diffusion about professional activities for mainstream readers. The media becomes the most popular or only source. A critical ethical issue is not only the "privatization of knowledge"

among professionals or elites but also a tendency in the social sciences to view knowledge as "power and property" rather than "a source of enlightenment" (Barnes, 1979:22). Pluralism as legitimate diversity in a society, is a precondition for a flourishing social science, and concentrations of power - as knowledge or otherwise - places the social sciences in jeopardy (Barnes:24). Is the abuse of this "power" by professionals effectively dealt with by a code of ethics? Barnes claims that,

Professional associations of sociologists, anthropologists, and other social scientists have drawn up their own codes of ethics or have involved themselves in many acrimonious debates before coming to the conclusion that their ethical issues are far too complicated to be handled by a professional code... Ethical interest has become one more variable to be correlated with others; experiments show that psychologists express more stringent views on ethics than do most other people (Sullivan and Deiber, 1973).

Barnes:20

Recent studies in sociology, of sociologists, have tended to confirm that sociologists are not "a) aware of and b) familiar with, the ethical code and procedures of their profession", although "sociologists who have taken a course on ethics are nearly twice as likely to be familiar with the Code as sociologists without courses". Long and Dorn (1982:80-86), have drawn other interpretations from their study, including

- that "It may not affect awareness (sociologist do not know about it)";

- that "it may not be taken seriously (there are no sanctions)";
- that "it may be irrelevant to behavior (professionals are ethically well socialized or unaffected by external influences)";
- that "a code is still a necessity...(it) helps to create and legitimate the profession that its existence presumes".

Long and Dorn's data (see Figure 14, over) show that although a professional group may wish to retain an internal code and an ethics committee, most members may see the code as having little practical value. Rather, codes have "ceremonial" value primarily, even though member reports of unethical behavior among peers may be extensive.

And because many contemporary CDers are trained as sociologists or other closely related social scientists, there is little to suggest their attitudes or views towards a CD Code are, or would be, any different from the above professional group.

Figure 14.

ASSESSMENT OF THE ASA CODE OF ETHICS

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AWARENESS AND/OR FAMILIARITY WITH THE CODE OF ETHICS AND COMMITTEE ON ETHICS BY MEASURES OF RESPONDENT'S CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT ETHICS

Measures of Ethical Consciousness	Awareness of the		Familiarity with	
	Code Yes	Committee Yes	Code Yes	Committee Yes
1. Have you taken a course on Ethics?				
Yes	64.4 (45)	45.5 (44)	40.0 (45)	22.7 (45)
No	60.0(173)	43.7(174)	21.6(171)	8.7(172)
2. How often do you think about ethics?				
Seldom-Never	49.2 (61)	32.3 (62)	13.3 (60)	9.8 (61)
Occasionally	64.7(119)	48.3(118)	22.9(117)	9.3(118)
Very Often	69.2 (39)	53.3 (38)	50.0 (38)	23.7 (38)
3. How important are ethics to you personally?				
Not Important	50.0 (6)	28.6 (7)	16.7 (6)	14.3 (7)
Somewhat Important	59.4(101)	43.6(101)	19.2 (99)	11.0(100)
Very Important	64.2(109)	48.6(107)	33.3(108)	14.0(107)
4. Are ethics pertinent to your professional work?				
Not Pertinent	53.8 (13)	30.8 (13)	15.4 (13)	00.0 (13)
Somewhat Pertinent	58.8 (97)	42.9 (98)	17.7 (96)	11.3 (97)
Very Pertinent	65.1(106)	49.0(103)	34.6(104)	14.4(104)
5. Do you personally know sociologists who have acted unethically?				
Yes	71.1(135)	57.5(134)	29.5(132)	16.5(133)
No	45.7 (81)	33.3 (81)	18.7 (80)	4.5 (81)

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CODE OF ETHICS AND THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS FOR A SUB-SAMPLE OF MEMBERS OF THE ASA WHO ARE AWARE AND/OR FAMILIAR WITH THE CODE AND THE COMMITTEE

Attitude Toward the Code and Committee	Yes	No	Don't Know No Opinion	N =
<i>Effects on Respondents</i>				
1. Have you used or referred to the Code?	34.3	65.7	—	(137)
2. Has the Code been helpful to you?	22.6	60.9	16.5	(133)
3. Has the Code made you personally more aware of ethical issues in the role of:				
Teacher	18.9	62.9	18.2	(132)
Researcher	23.9	56.8	17.3	(139)
Consultant	19.1	55.1	25.8	(136)
4. Has the Code changed your behavior?	3.1	88.4	8.5	(138)
5. Have you brought the Code to the attention of your students?	36.4	63.6	—	(129)
6. Has the Committee made a difference in your personal behavior?	4.0	68.0	8.0	(132)
<i>Perceived Effects on Others</i>				
7. Has the Code made sociologists more aware of ethical issues in the role of:				
Teacher	16.2	37.5	46.3	(136)
Researcher	27.7	29.2	43.1	(137)
Consultant	14.8	32.6	52.5	(135)
8. Has the Code changed the behavior of members of the ASA generally?	15.7	30.7	53.6	(140)
9. Has the Committee made a difference in the behavior of members of the ASA generally?	12.6	29.5	57.9	(137)
10. Has the Committee on Ethics been essentially a "do nothing" committee?	24.0	15.0	63.0	(138)
<i>Attitude toward Abandoning the Code and the Committee</i>				
11. Should the ASA abandon the Code?	2.3	76.1	21.7	(134)
12. Should the ASA abandon the Committee on Ethics?	1.0	72.0	27.0	(133)

Adapted from G.L. Long and D.S. Dorn, "An Assessment of the ASA Code of Ethics and Committee on Ethics", *The American Sociologist* 1982, Vol. 17 (May:80-86).

Because it is professionally astute to do so, most social scientists eventually join the professional body of their respective discipline. It is here that one receives the most preliminary information about ethical standards, rules, and group activities, unless these have been taught as part of a graduate program. Codes of ethics therefore may be available to the researcher or practitioner, but that does not imply that they are necessarily read or adhered to. That is a voluntary, but implicitly expected, task.

One of the problems attendant to the process of professionalizing, similar to the characteristic of bureaucracies, is that of latency or means-ends displacement (Merton, 1949:155). "In academia, for example, the processes and rewards of obtaining a research grant are viewed as more significant than the research itself for which the grant is negotiated and obtained, resulting in the phenomenon of 'grantsmanship' as a generally acceptable end in itself" (Huer, p. 312).

On the assumption that there are many more instances of moral impropriety among applied social science professionals than have so far been detected; and further, that patently wrong research results or intervention processes may not necessarily diminish their effectiveness in local political rhetoric, it would become clear that ethical codes have a limited capacity for furthering corrective justice. Relative to the number of interventions social scientists have made in applied settings during the past three of four

decades, one is drawn to ask why so few 'Faustian Bargains' or examples of unethical practice have been reported and acted upon.

Barnes (1979) has made several pertinent points about the nature and efficacy of social science codes of ethics. First, ethical codes are culturally specific, peculiar to the "Western moral community" in our case, and therefore "...in a specific research context, the definition of rights proposed by the scientist may differ widely from the context-free definition provided by a professional code" (p. 165).

This revelation has influenced others to seek to have an international code of ethics for all scientists and professional practitioners or change agents, especially those doing development interventions in foreign countries (Goulet, 1977:180-1). Also, a "composite code" has been created for most social science disciplines (twenty-four in all), in recognition of the need for further standardization (Reynolds, pp. 442-49).

Second, but continuing with the notion of moral relativism applied to social action and use of knowledge, Barnes claims the advice to professionals which codes have to give is "unspecific": codes "do little to affect the balance of power between him (the researcher) and the other parties to the process of inquiry" (Barnes, 1979, p.168).

Community developers, who adhere more to the aspect of a "calling" in their statements about professionalizing

(e.g., Levy's Social Work Ethics, 1978); and who have discussed the possibility of certification for CDS members, might be advised not to adopt a professional code until

- a) sufficient numbers of graduates from strictly CD programs have emerged to challenge the prevalence of sociologists, rural economists, and adult educators in the field;
- or until b) CD theory is advanced to the point where CD knowledge occupies a deserved and removed status from the rest of the social sciences; or/and more importantly,
- c) the practical value of codes, apart from mere ceremonial value, is convincingly demonstrated in the traditional social science professions. When CD wants to move beyond the level of an occupational group to that of a professional organization, with perhaps licensing capabilities - and there has been talk of this in the CDS Journal, (1977-78) - a code powerless to enforce sanctions against deserving members would be crippling. Its only remaining value would rest in legitimizing the profession externally, and in simply existing as a reference for practitioners with practical questions.

It is not clear how academic departments of community development which are now in place (e.g., University of Alberta, University of Missouri-Columbia) can positively influence the integrity of their graduates when they neither offer courses in professional nor applied ethics. Graduates have no code to govern their behavior. Supposedly, concerned CD graduates take up membership in other closely aligned professional societies.

Social science codes of ethics appear at the moment to offer little, in terms of moral guidelines, for practitioners of planned social change. This is primarily due to their lack of specificity in applied circumstances. But as codes become increasingly finely tuned to the experiences of more applied social scientists, and are continually revised to reflect these changing conditions of professional involvement, there is hope that the lack of specificity will diminish. I suspect, however, that far more might be gained by providing early professional training in the often neglected areas of social psychology - symbolic interactionism and exchange theory. These approaches assist in explaining such topics as group processes, conformity, interpersonal attraction, affiliation, attitude formation and change, and social roles - all of which comprise much of the real world of field researchers, change agents and consultants.

Finally, a change agent or CDer should know when he is being "conned", when his power as a catalyst-enabler-educator-advocate is being usurped, when he is being co-opted to perform unrelated roles. He should know the costs/benefits of continued client interaction. Mead, Simmel, Homans, Blau, Goffman, and others, have much to say which would benefit the neophyte change-agent.⁹



2. Change Agents and Moral Responsibility

Durkheim's Professional Ethics and Civic Morals

(1958 trans. by C. Brookfield) assailed the socio-economic trends of his time: the trends towards "organic solidarity", in which the intensifying division of labour was eroding the internalized, common moral code of society. Value consensus and structural integration were disintegrating into newer, more individualized forms of human relations akin to Toennies' "Gesellschaft". Civic morality was retrievable by establishing professional ethics among all economic divisions of labour - industrial, commercial. The "amoral character of economic life" was "a public danger".

"...It is therefore extremely important that economic life should be regulated, should have its moral standards raised, so that conflicts that disturb it have an end, and further, that individuals should cease to live thus within a moral vacuum where the life-blood drains away even from individual morality. For in this order of social functions there is need for professional ethics to be established, nearer the concrete, closer to the facts, with a wider scope than anything existing today". (p.12)

Durkheim saw professional groups as one source for moral salvation. Their role was to act as a buffer between the state and the individual: "essential if the State is not to oppress the individual; they are also necessary if the State is to be sufficiently free of the individual" (p.96). Professionals, like families, were to mediate and arbitrate individual interests against some higher authority, namely, civic morality.

Professionals were to become objective moralists; they were to base their applied knowledge on neutral investigations or research toward the solution of social problems. And the optimal structure within which professionals should organize themselves was the guild system, governed by a centralized, democratic economic council of administrators (p. 37). The calling of the professional was the restoration and maintenance of state morality.

The notion advanced by Durkheim, that social science and technical knowledge should be used to advance the cause of the state, is in effect an apologist's view on behalf of contemporary structural-functionalism - that privatized knowledge shared only among elites, or for elites to advance state funded research, performs a functional role in maintaining social equilibrium. What Durkheim and others did not foresee was that knowledge itself would become a form of property, inaccessible to those it was meant to benefit (Barnes, 1979; C. Wright Mills, 1956; 1963).

Change agents in social science are usually professionals in the business of bringing recent knowledge to those who either do not have it, or who do not have ready access to it. The purposes to which the "dispossessed" citizen groups or interest groups use such knowledge are to improve various living conditions or social arrangements, or to restore conditions to a previously enjoyed level of appreciation. To the extent that these ends are met, a change agent's role is purely a "functional" one.

That is, a new balance in the group or community is reached, once the knowledge and skills required have been diffused and adopted, the maintenance of the community's social system being the highest priority.

However, some clients requiring knowledge choose to use it for "dysfunctional" (non-equilibrating) reasons. Where the change agent chooses likewise to give knowledge to clients for these purposes, purposes which may engender local conflict or chaos, he may or may not question his role as a professional. This follows from the fact that codes of ethics often contain restrictions on how knowledge is to be used - by whom, for what reasons (ASA, 1972). It also follows from whether or not the agent sees himself as an advocate. Since advocacy roles are not supported by most social science codes of ethics, one is tempted to conclude that codes act to maintain prevailing professional practices at standards not necessarily in keeping with the expectations of clients (community groups).

Since also, advocacy implies an adversary, the poverty of structural-functional theory is revealed in its weakness in rationalizing conflict as being a potentially functional (beneficial) act (except Coser and Dahrendorf). Consensus formation as a precondition to social-system change (as Etzioni (1968) sees it) is a belief held by structural-functionalists or social-systems theorists. They believe that where the optimal amount of consensus is reached in a social system the "quality" of any consequent change will be positive.

Most conflict theorists believe the opposite - that the most meaningful change derives from conditions in which conflict is allowed to occur (Coser, 1956:37-8). The use, then, of knowledge by change agents for "dissensus" also has to be recognized (see Alinsky).

You and I are agents. If our actions bear out our publicized intentions, then our agency is complete so far as others are concerned.

Generally, responsible agency means we must be willing to a) take account of the possible effects of our actions as we plan them, and b) correct or undo injustices or errors which result from our actions.

A responsible man stands by his own actions and declares them to be his. He allows no excuses; he did what he had to do. It does not follow that from this fact alone that he has acted rightly, particularly from the point of view of other men. Although a responsible man has taken steps to avoid the excuses which depend upon lack of self-knowledge, those steps cannot guarantee his success. The pervasive responsibility he bears is a burden of insecurity in action. A responsible man does the best he can, but that may not be good enough.

Ross, The Nature of Moral Responsibility, 1973, p. 12

The implicit advocacy of community-development philosophy is another instance where professionals have decided to respond to the socio-political constraints on the self-other dualism found in actual communities or neighbourhoods. CD attempts to reduce the distance, so to speak, between totalities and the people by providing knowledge, skills, advice, and encouragement to those who request assistance in these areas.

Whereas social work deals with individuals (casework), CDers work with groups, to endow them with a greater sense of responsibility.

A good man, with good intentions, may act irresponsibly. So too, an agent of change. Credentials do not guarantee responsible action, nor does right reason. The substance of moral responsibility is found in the moments of client interaction. This interaction is seen to contain personal strategy rules. These may be prudential, regulatory, and normative (Beck, 1972).

Concepts of freedom and reasonableness are usually implicit, but they may have to be worked out by participants. The CDer for instance, may examine his personal strategy rules by asking:

- what is the best way to present myself to these people? (dress, mannerisms)
- how should I present what I know so that there is the least amount of misunderstanding by the client? (verbal or written, flip-chart or AV, loose or packaged)
- how do I present my values on this issue (or others) such that the client and I can effectively work together? (State them openly or work them in gradually).

Social rules take many forms - laws, local norms, customs, mores, folkways or traditions. For these considerations the CDer may ask:

- What manner of intervention (e.g., presenting data, teaching and evaluating, or action research and advocacy) - will best match ends with means?
- What local socio-cultural traditions exist which I must consider in determining my final presentation of self? Should I sensitize myself in advance to their cultural norms, language, politics, religion?
- Is my research instrument biased towards external norms?
- Will my intervention benefit others elsewhere?

As for group strategy rules -

- How do I balance rational discourse with emotions in my discussions so as not to lose professional or personal credibility?
 - How do I control my own ego needs in dialogue with the client?
 - What leadership style should I use?
"Laissez-faire", democratic-participatory, or authoritarian-autocratic?
- d

The community development profession, as CDers are inclined to call it, is clearly lacking in codified, internalized norms to govern the moral responsibility of practitioners. One can only assume that CDers bring the ethical standards of their socialized selves, their academic disciplines, and various social science associations, plus the standards of their employer or sponsor.

However, a recent attempt to establish common ethical norms from social science has produced some interesting findings. Zaltman and Duncan (1977: chapter 13) report the findings of a large-scale survey (N=1553) which they conducted among members of the Institute for Management Science, The American Anthropological Association, the Journal of Applied Behavioural Science (subscriber list), the American Association of Social Workers, and subscribers to the Administrative Science Quarterly. From extensive literature reviews, nineteen prominent ethical issues were identified, and formed the basis of the questionnaire (p.341). Those issues found to be rated the highest on the "importance" item were ranked as follows (first five only):

- Those affected by a given solution have a right to be informed of the rationale for that solution (#8)
- If the interventionist perceives a conflict between his values and the client's values in defining the goals and objectives of his activities, he is obligated to discuss this with his client (#14)

- If the interventionist perceives a conflict between his values and the client's values in determining the means of implementing a solution, he is obligated to discuss this with his client (#15)
- The client system should provide any information the interventionist feels he needs to perform his task (#13)
- The interventionist is obligated to inform members of the client system as to the goals and objectives of the interventionist's activities (#11)

Here we see clear support for the norms of informed consent, goal clarification, means clarification, client trust, and agent-motive clarification.

The above issues are not new; they are found in one form or another in most social science codes of ethics. They are primarily issues which focus on the pragmatism, instrumentalism and utilitarian (means-ends) aspects of small-group encounters. Although they imply the universal ethics of fairness and honesty, the only motives one could impute to these statements are those of disinterestedness and perhaps, the self-interested use of others.

If, as I maintain, the ethos of CD is to reduce or eliminate the "subject-object" split found in local circumstances, most CD efforts in North America (as exemplified by most CDS Journal articles) are of an apolitical nature; that is, they stop short of active intervention or advocacy. Agents react to needs by giving informed advice in the form of research results, structured group processes, or vicarious educational experiences. Few CDers pro-act, or take advocacy roles to seek socio-political ends, although there are

exceptions (e.g., G. Fraser, Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court, 1972). Incremental, as opposed to transformational change (Kindler, 1979:476-84) is the outcome expected from most CD activities. This contrasts sharply with CD in developing countries (e.g., Berlew and LeClere's Social Intervention in Curacao: A Case Study, 1979:151-78).

With this in mind, the notions of means-ends (utilitarian) and "duty" (denontological) ethics can be assessed against the roles performed by CD field practitioners.

3. Ethics on the Job

It is not within the scope of this dissertation to analyse causal links between methods of communication and cognitive orientations, on the one hand, and the ethical behavior of change agents, on the other. Some studies however, have shown the relationships that exist between specific factors in communication (power, competence, trustworthiness, good will, idealism, similarity, dynamism) and perceived credibility (Zimbardo, Ebbesen, and Maslach, 1977). Others have shown the relationship between the "cognitive style" of various change agents and their selected intervention strategies (Slocum, 1978:199-210). And some CDers have developed CD curriculum materials around these kinds of discoveries, and have proposed that certain "behavioural styles" during the agent-client interface will produce predictable results (Robinson and Clifford, 1977).

But a human agent (not just a change agent) may be moral in one setting and not moral in the same setting at a later date. Also, he may be moral in two distinct and contrary settings. The same professor who researches a small prairie town for alcohol-related crimes, may be thrown out of a similar country town five miles down the road, for no apparent reasons. There are contingency factors which affect our interventions but are above or beyond our control, such as how we are perceived by others. 7

Nonetheless, by appealing in our behaviours to a core set of universal values and norms, we assume our interventions will stand better chances of success. We assume perhaps that macro-norms, like Judeo-Christian, or Canadian, circumscribe the micro-communities with which we interact, and that even though our client may be a Pakistan organization in the inner core of Toronto, we can still problem-solve together. Our own personal socio-cultural norms may run counter to those of the cultural majority, yet as change agents struggling to be "professional", we compromise this dilemma of moral relativism by justifying our actions in terms of "duty" or "obligation" to higher or professional principles. And this deference to a professional code may or may not cause us personal anxiety. To the extent that it does not, this should be reflected in the successfulness of our interventions.

In offering delineations of particular aspects of professional behaviour to which ethical properties apply,

the philosophy of ethics is helpful. Martin (1981:632) for instance, provides the following role "sets":

1. The ability set: possessing particular skills and expert knowledge
2. the function set: appropriate application of those skills and knowledge
3. responsibility set: being charged with promoting a particular social good, and having special moral responsibilities and obligations based upon both this good and the ways professional activities impact on moral rights
4. authorization set: being an official member of a profession, where a profession is a social institution granted unique privileges and legal rights by a society which desires professional zealously.

Martin stresses the first three "in justifying both individual acts and institutional norms". In effect, Martin places individual agency before professional agency: we are morally responsible first to our private and civic consciences in determining our behaviour, then, to our profession. The duty of moral agents, including CDers, is logically first to a social good, and not to the utilitarian or "entrepreneurial" interests of experts. This is so because otherwise there would be no protection against possible moral subversion by institutionalized privilege. Martin uses the example of Nazi doctors who conducted experiments on Jews "in order to obtain new medical knowledge".

The problem with Martin's arguments is that he fails to adequately portray the reality of political and professional interactions. He does not see that governments and special interest groups (i.e., professions) determine the

5

bulk of social policy (See Presthus, 1974; Monsen and Cannon, 1965). It is not determined as democratically as Martin would like. And social policies can have normative consequences - such as US pornography legislation, Canada's new Bill of Rights, the proposed ERA legislation in the US. The ordinary person's considerations have not been taken into account, for example, in deciding whether the use of the neutron bomb by the Americans "for defense purposes" is a moral necessity, or whether is yet another tangible example of scientist-politician collaboration heading us and the rest of the world toward a self-destruct course.

Utopian theorizing common to CD literature is noble enough. Yet I fear it is far removed from the reality of actual CD interventions. Still, there are those who rightly are trying to strike new ground in applied intervention ethics. They are attempting to apply theories of ethics from philosophy to actual circumstances of intervention in villages, towns, cities, and organizations.

Anthropologist William F. May (1980:358-70) has made one of the few notable attempts to "apply moral principles to a concrete world of practice". In discussing the ethics of fieldwork in anthropology (equally applicable to CD), May has suggested that five ethical or "moral theories" apply. These are briefly summarized below.

1. Teleological ethic:
definition- an "ethic which orients each action or activity toward that goal or target which constitutes its intrinsic rather

than instrumental good"; it has its own terminal justification, e.g., truth, as the end of academic inquiry.

practical
limitations- "the degree to which research gets skewed in favour of those projects that produce a social payoff of interests to sponsoring agencies"; the seductive influence of money on the agent's or sponsor's purposes.

theoretical
merits- "would define research as an independent, fundamental, but not absolute good. It would exclude lying among the means available to a field researcher; it would be suspicious of covert research; and it would encourage the development of procedures for informed consent. The truth is the goal of the profession; one ought not to use devious arrows in attempting to reach that target".

2, Utilitarian ethic:

definition- "utilitarians...are less interested in the purity of the agent's motives, or in the formal consistency of the principles by which he or she treats any or all parties to an action, or in the appropriateness of the means used to produce results...are result-oriented, consequentialist thinkers. They usually measure actions by their utility in producing the greatest good for the greatest number. To that end they rely chiefly on the method of cost/benefit analysis, its ledger sheet of outcomes, and its table of probabilities associated with those outcomes, positive and negative".

practical
limitations- informed consent is discouraged, and covert research gets justified; "does not solve the problem of distributive justice within a research population that includes diverse constituencies and interests. Whose benefit should be served? Whose harm can be tolerated? The dependency of the researcher on the powerful gatekeepers within the culture puts the latter in the best position to

determine whether the research will
favour their own interest...
IT DEALS WITH INDIVIDUALS OR AGGREGATES
BUT NOT WITH COMMUNITIES...THEREFORE
EFFICIENCY IN POLICYMAKING PREFERS
DIRECT INTERVENTION AT THE FEDERAL OR
STATE LEVEL RATHER THAN ROUTING
PROGRAMS THROUGH LOCAL COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATIONS". (my emphasis)

..."an ethic for benefactors"..."if it
takes a calculation of consequences to
justify a rule, then a calculation is
sufficient to undo it".

theoretical

merits- some appreciable ones if it is assumed
that a totally homogeneous culture is
possible; not, otherwise. No practical
redeeming qualities due to intensifying
of technical over humanistic consider-
ations. For an apologist's account, see
Camic, 1979:516-51. Another typical
utilitarian approach to CD is exemplified
by Napier and Maurer, 1978.

3. Deontological ethic:

definition- "...orients less to goods or harms
produced by action than to those
principles of right and wrong that
should categorically restrain it";
a Kantian formulation, stressing the
universalizability of modelling behaviour
and the treatment of others as ends,
not means.

practical

limitations- "it deals too lightly with con-
sequences; it does not leave room
for exceptions...it is too individual-
istic" since "communities as well as
individuals, have their own kind of
integrity" to which anthropologists
and sociologists should be "more
sensitive"...and it "concentrates
on general rather than special
obligations...It ignores those further
special obligations that arise between
human beings in specially defined
relations - parents and children,
professionals and clients, teachers
and students, workers, colleagues,
lovers and mates".

theoretical
merits- none suggested

4. Advocacy research (ethics)

definition- "It suggests that the researcher has special obligations to the subject population that exceed the non-specific commitment of utilitarians to the greatest good of the greatest number, or the general Kantian commitments to consistency, honesty, promise-keeping and respect...In allowing themselves to be studied, a subject population has a right to expect from the field researcher something more substantial than bourgeois respect, courtesy and honesty; they have a right to the social power that comes from knowledge".

practical
limitations- social researcher should not be required to be agents of social change, as a condition of funding; "the basic ideal of objectivity needs to be deepened, not eliminated", for otherwise researchers will not be restrained from "fudging the facts". The advocate cannot presuppose that there is a single client, as there may be submerged factions with opposing views.

theoretical
merits- none mentioned, but see Habermas, 1968, and Ricoeur, 1974.

5. Covenantal ethics:

definition- "an exchange of promises, an agreement that shapes the future between two parties", and which "grows out of a prior exchange of gifts and goods and becomes the basis for future exchanges"; it "acknowledges the indebtedness of one to another...It encourages gratitude, fidelity, even devotion, and care"... it "is responsive and reciprocal in character" and "transcends the obligation to sponsors" and "goes deeper than a commercial contract".

theoretical

merits- retains the principles of the AAA code of ethics regarding a fieldworker's duties, yet "all these duties rest on a deeper footing than contract, on a lower pedestal than philanthropy, and on a more concrete foundation than Kant's universal principle of respect".

practical
limitations-

"Where a sense of covenant is weak, contractualism (esp. utilitarian) at least has the advantage of enforcing minimal standards", and also, covenantal ethics does not contain "principles for the resolution of conflicts between various commitments". Like advocacy, it tends to "elevate a single commitment to the absolute and deals expediently with all else".¹⁰

These outlines of change-agent ethics can be used to analyse the behaviour of various agents in the case studies to follow. I have attempted to define moral behaviour, to show what motivates moral agents, to clarify the "property sets" of professionalism which apply to interventions and ethics, and to delineate major moral theories by which change-agent actions can be assessed. Unfortunately, like many other theorists on morality, May does not offer an holistic theory of ethics. We must therefore, select or generate one which most fits our intuitions, our experiences, our reasoning, and our personal value system. Without attempting to critically appraise all five of May's theories of ethics, I would like to make my position clear on the last two of them, advocacy and covenantal ethics. The rest have had much more said about them elsewhere.¹¹

May's criticisms of advocacy are misguided for the following reasons:

1. the cooptation of researchers by funding agencies to pursue privatized interests is not unique to advocacy, nor is advocacy any more vulnerable to this charge than traditional R&D, linkage, catalyst, facilitative, and other consultative roles. Ivory-tower, closet research of the university type, where objectivity and "truth-telling" supposedly abound, is susceptible to Faustian bargains with sponsors and to the creation of "power-broker roles" also (Goldenberg, 1980:28-34).

2. "Fact-fudging" by researchers is similarly a non-defensible attack on advocacy. I would hazard that most statistical data from research (the most common type of data in sociology at present, and in CD) cannot be understood by clients anyway. It is the agent's conclusions and recommendations which count, especially in the creation of social policy (Finsterbusch and Motz, 1980), Mills (1959) calls the usual intervention style of social scientists the "advisor to the King", but favours the "independent philosopher" role, since only a few can ever attain the "philosopher-King" combination exemplified, for example, by Moynihan and Kissinger. No relationship structure, however, between the researcher and client or decision-maker can guarantee with any more degree of probability that knowledge will not be altered to suit the needs of users.

The relationship between ethical behaviour and the structure of interaction is an empirical question in need of far more investigation. My point is that because advocacy roles place the agent-researcher-interventionist outside of positivist ideology and the technical-empiricism rampant in many disciplines, there is a tendency to align, the non-traditional with the unethical. Why are advisors more trustworthy than Kings themselves?

3. The advocate has no choice but to assume there is a single client, or that, as with CD and its emphasis on advocacy "process", a single client can be mobilized. Would the knowledge, for example, that some Quebecers might not agree have deterred René Lévesque from taking a referendum vote? A single client is like a Weberian "ideal-type": it does not perfectly correspond with reality, but it serves heuristic purposes.

Unlike sociology and some other professionalized occupations, CD can do something about client divisiveness. It can reduce differences among participants in local change through various human relations and problem-solving techniques (see Robinson and Clifford's NRC Series, 1977).

Covenantalism is only remotely appropriate to North American community intervention strategies, since its methods are culturally distinct. We do not usually conduct research or community interventions with the initial exchange of goods or gifts. Our methods resemble contractual arrangements, based on money and obligation exchanges.

The ethics of the "covenantal anthropologist", as May seems to be saying, are more applicable to Third World or tribal situations still found in some parts of Africa, South America, Australia, and the East Indies. May seems to be talking about emotional ties akin to Christian fellowship as a basis for the regulation of the agent's moral behaviour. Although rare in usual North American CD efforts, it is possible that such relations could emerge out of intense agent-client relations. But as an ethic to regulate an agent's actions it suffers from the problems May has identified. It is an emerging ethic in the sense that it does not exist prior to, or necessarily after, the intervention. It amounts to a sales technique but with the time-honoured tradition of reciprocity, and it is bounded in time and space. Thus, its practical powers of control over the agent are circumstantial, not generalizable to other communities.

Just as the values of an organization or client determine its activities (stability-maintenance, change-producing, change-consuming), so do the values of a change agent. Or at least one would think so, for to do things other than those things he values (say, in cases of coercion) as a common practice, contradicts any notion of rational behaviour or of being free in a democratic state. Therefore, assuming change agents are relatively free and rational human beings, one could theoretically determine values which apply to individual actions.

If an agent values expediency over ends, for example, we might be inclined to classify that agent as "utilitarian". That is, we could see that the standards upon which his moral behaviour is based are standards of efficiency of means. This being his normal disposition in doing research and consulting, we could then link his particular intervention strategy with a conduct code or ethic shared by others sharing his utilitarianism. If he is a declared professional holding a membership, we would further expect that his conduct pays deference to an overriding professional code of ethics. And if we examine his behaviour as a practitioner, then examine his professional code, we should find correspondence. The same applies to deontological and teleological ethics. But where a declared professional has no code - a CDer, for example - then correspondence will not be evident or possible.

In the only CDS article I have found dealing explicitly with CD ethics, Sabre (1980:15-22) attempts to link the professional activities of a CDer with an ethical principle. He thereby helps us to find some correspondence between practitioner responsibility and a code, however minimal or basic this code is. Sabre's thesis is that "community development practitioners should explicitly adopt a deontological ethic because it is consistent with an educational mission, serves as a guide to action in capacity building and technical assistance and because it leads to social justice" (p. 17).

He affirms that CD is basically an educational process, one in which shared knowledge among groups and individuals "enhances the capacity of (them) to be persuaded and to persuade in specific subject areas and in human situations in general" (p. 18). He then posits the following principle: the CDer should "so act in each instance as to encourage, rather than suppress, the capacity to persuade and to be persuaded, whether the capacity in question is yours or another's" (pp.18-19). And in a series of logically questionable steps, Sabre deduces that the "ethically questionable" practices of 1) fixing the public agenda, 2) conflict of interest, 3) cooptation, 4) advocacy, and 5) assuming leadership, are all possible through the use of his mediating "Basic Principle". The reciprocity of persuading and being persuaded in the CD process is supposed to democratize the process of social policymaking, so as to retain Rawls' (1971) notion of social justice as "fairness".

It seems to me that in essence, Sabre is arguing that a CDer has the duty to "do unto others as he would have them do unto him", a categorical imperative sine qua non. His principle as stated, however, contains the logical fallacy of false obversion (Barry, 1976:318-19) - the socio-psychological problem of pursuing opposite behaviours in a small-group setting (Bradford, ed., 1978). There is an implicit assumption that each party has perfect knowledge, thereby forcing a balance in persuadability. His belief that CD is best seen as an educational process whereby the transfer

of information to others will increase their persuadability and resoluteness is naive and unrealistic. It omits the tacit influence of agent status and power on the course of events, the problem of control and displaced goals, and the relationship between merely possessing knowledge and acting responsibly upon it. His deontological ethic invites the same criticisms given by May previously. It is not clear how any pretenses the agent may have to elitism in his pedagogical role can be reduced or abolished by an informed group.

There are other problems with Sabre's article: how do we assess to what extent an agent or participants have been persuaded? Or, how would we know an agent has failed to do his duty? Finally, the statement "It is a person's duty never to deprive another person of the capacity to perform his/her duties" (p. 19), is nonsense, for otherwise why should we repel the attacker's hand? Why blockade whaling ships? Why be coopted by interest groups seeking to deny me my rights?

In the article partially reprinted below, entitled "An Open Letter of Resignation", by Susan Mellor (in Community Development: The Newsletter of the Ontario Community Development Society, Vol.2, No. 3 September, 1983:1-3), an alleged ethical violation by a CDer has been publicized. It is implied by the author that had a code of ethics existed, to supplement the OCDS's Constitution, the problem may not have arisen since the CDer in question would have had a policy to refer to.

But whether this account is true or not, CDers, or other social scientists qua professionals, are always left with the option to reject ethical guidelines and endure any consequences. Although codes at least present moral guidelines indicative of the profession's collective views - and hence infractions of which would impact, one would think, on professional reputations - the real strength of a code lies in its ability to bring about appropriate sanctions. In other words, a code is as strong as its ethics committee.

I was given to understand that the papers and presentations from the 1982 Annual Meeting would simply be collected and reproduced cheaply for OCDS Members and anyone else interested. The Publications Committee gave the mandate to oversee the production to Hubert Campfens on these terms. There was apparently no possible conflict or room for misunderstanding in the matter. The process seemed to take an unduly long time (8 months) but this was explained by the fact that a grant had been applied for by Hubert to subsidize the cost of reproduction, and the fact that some people had not submitted copies of their papers. In fact, it took so long to reproduce because it had become an edited book of readings with a lengthy introduction written by Hubert. The papers were reorganized under different headings from those used at the conference. The papers were edited, furthermore, without the fully informed consent of the contributors. The cost of the production was higher because of the editing work and the more academic format in which the final publication appears.

No-one except Hubert knew that the format had been changed in this way until the week the publication went to the printer. Even then, I found out inadvertently because an ISBN number was required for the new format. When I called to check this with Hubert and ask what some of the legal and ethical considerations had been, I found he had not considered either. Nor, in fact, had any member of the board: there is still a disagreement among board members as to whether Hubert had informed them that the format had changed. Several think they simply did not hear what Hubert asserts he said, but I cannot find any discussion of the matter in minutes from any of the board meetings.

Other than committing a violation of the constitutional mandate of the publications committee to oversee any and all publications which are issued by the Society - that is, to act as a check on what and how the society will publish - the publication process violates ethical issues on the grounds that contributors were not informed and that the members themselves were not informed that they were publishing an edited book of readings which will be sold as a university textbook and which does not even have on its cover that it is a conference proceedings.

We, a society which is supposed to be balanced, grass roots and participatory, have issued as our first notice to the world that we exist, an ACADEMIC TEXTBOOK. Because this was done despite my objections as Chairman of the Publications Committee it is clear that I did not have the confidence of the Board I served. This is the reason for my resignation.

I have agreed to stay on as a member of the Publications Committee and work with members of the board who are sympathetic to these ethical issues to design a written policy which will lay down ethical principles. But the bare-bones constitution which we already have was overlooked in this case anyway. This compromise of principle must not be allowed to become a model for a Society aspiring to the sort of ideals for which we stand.

SUSAN MELLOR

Codes are prescriptions interpreted as "duties", usually expressed as "should", "ought", or in some cases, "must" statements. Sanctions are explicit in long-standing professions (medicine, law) about malpractice. This is not so in the social sciences, although some are making attempts to create precedent (see the CSAA versus Simon Fraser University). Moral absolutism and moral relativism pervade many professional codes in the social sciences. That is, they contain "must" statements, complete with sanctions, to which the agent or researcher is absolutely accountable. They contain "should" statements relating to conduct for which precedent has little force, or for which there may be defensible, mitigating circumstances. This follows from the fact that an established practice is logically prior to particular cases, a condition which allows for the building of a professional code a posteriori. Interestingly enough, codes in the social and physical sciences are "ought" statements governing the "is" statements researchers or consultants are mostly confined to use. Codes are not created in the same scientific way other ordered statements are, because science assumes a moral knowledge, or, an epistemology of ethics is not possible.

Nonetheless, codes are created in the interests of pro-Establishment behaviour - protecting or preserving the socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural status quo. Sabre's Basic Principle for CD is an ethic of duty, from which a social good should come.

Although its central weakness lies in its pretense to elite altruism while disregarding the issue of ego-involvement, it is the first formally constructed intervention ethic for CDers to come out of the CDS membership.

The present "state-of-the-art" of ethics in community development can only benefit from these and other attempts to codify practitioner behaviour. We can relate intervention strategies only loosely to ethics in the following way.

<u>Strategy</u>	<u>Ego-involvement(motives)</u>	<u>Ethic</u>
rational-technical	-disinterestedness, to self-interested use of others	-utilitarian/ deontological
normative- re-educative	-self-interested, to pure altruism	-teleological/ deontological- covenantal
power-coercive	-pure malice or pure altruism, to self-interested use of others	-teleological/ advocacy- covenantal

A first prerequisite to creating a CD code would consist in value clarification among the membership. The empirical study of Zaltman and Duncan provided some clues as to how other practitioners place priorities on such "rules" as informed consent, goal clarification, means clarification, trust or motive clarification. CDers would do well to heed these results in constructing their own internal code.

But the uniqueness of CD lies in its emphasis on group process and procedural and normative change. At the community level or small group level, CD can become a form of socio-therapy, using Organizational Development and

Human Relations methods. This amounts to advocacy of "party", as distinct from advocacy of "process" or of "outcome" (see Laue's typology, 1978:181). But party or client advocacy, in which the goal is "to improve the perceived or actual advantage of a client or target group" (Laue:181) is as yet a young technique for many CDS members. Most publications still reflect the traditional academic research methods: advocacy of process (to "institute and/or follow a process meeting important value criteria of the advocate in achieving an outcome") and of outcome (to "achieve a decision or policy the advocate defines as positive" (Laue:181)).

There exists, then divisiveness as to values and methods in the field among CDers. This condition militates against an easy codification of ethical rules. If, however, the intervention paradigm shift is from value-neutral research to action research, and from small-group process to total party advocacy, then I suggest the CDS look more towards the historical development of codes as found in Social Work and Community Psychology (Sarason, 1974).

Littrell's list of CDer values is fairly explicit, and my list of imputed values from CD history are meagre beginnings to a rudimentary classification. A content analysis of major CD texts - those by Chekki, Cary, Christenson and Robinson, for example - will undoubtedly uncover other values and suggestive moral statements. *2*

As social "do-gooders" CDers will eventually require a professional code, should their numbers continue to grow and their effectiveness or ineffectiveness become better known to the public. Even publicly perceived - but not substantiated or representative - ineffectiveness, can bring great credibility and reorganization problems upon an unsuspecting profession. Alberta social workers are a current example.

Ethics is an aid to moral navigation. We can sail without it if we wish. But we ignore it at some peril.

Hodgkinson, 1978:220

4. Some Linkages to Theory

Ethical behaviour derives in part from role performance, and from the conflicts it generates. The role performance of CDers is usually in North America a micro-level phenomenon. It has not yet been fully explained either by theory or by practice. It is insufficient to say that CDers are well-intended experts who help community groups achieve socio-economic or socio-cultural goals by increasing a community's access to resources or its capacity for self-guidance. More information is needed to determine how each agent intervenes, and with what tangible as well as latent results. A closer look at actual roles would help others and the CD profession arrive at a more holistic conception, so as to make a more relevant role definition possible.

But more important for my present needs is to talk about ethics in CD in a significant way.

That the variables which impinge upon change agent interventions are enormous, is no surprise. Simply recall the last department meeting, party, council session, or problemsolving seminar you were at, to get the picture of what CDers are sometimes caught up in, as to routine duties or protracted engagements or casual interactions. Variables like age, sex, socio-economic status, power, authority, ethnicity, education and religion - can influence the course of events in an agent client interface.

But groups as well as individuals can generate self-identifying characteristics - the Black Panthers, Hell's Angels, United Auto Workers, Greenpeace, Canadian Sociological and Anthropological Association, Community Action Committee. These influence others with whom they have contact, and since CDers work primarily with groups, the interaction of variables is quite complex. Research has shown there is enough consistency in co-variance among some variables to indicate "probable causality" that can be stated in the form of propositions of theorems.

There are many important theorems from conflict theory, symbolic interactionism and exchange theory which can help to clarify the role of CDers, and perhaps how those circumstances and roles point to ethical considerations in intervention. Social systems theory (Parsons, Bales and Shils, 1953) has helped to provide explanations of group or community

survival behaviour in terms of the requisites of adapting, attaining goals, integrating, and pattern and tension management. Pattern maintenance is more closely related to role performance since the "system" must be maintained by appropriate member roles. But actual actor roles are better explained or understood via micro-social theories.

The following micro-social theorems are taken from J.H. Turner's The Structure of Sociological Theory, revised edition (1978). I have attempted to translate them into a CD context immediately afterwards, with comments and clarification.

1. On the issue of conflict:

- a) The more unequal the distribution of scarce resources in a system, the greater will be the conflict of interest between dominant and subordinate segments in a system (p.131)

The *raison d'être* of North American CD is to achieve more social justice through the equitable redistribution of goods and services throughout a given community, and thereby reduce the likelihood of conflict with external or internal agencies which can supply them. This suggests that the "linkage" role (Havelock, 1973) of the change-agent is paramount. Also important are conflict-resolution skills, depending upon the stage to which relations between the "haves" and the "have-nots" have advanced.

- b) The more subordinate segments are unified by a common belief and the more developed their political leadership structure, the more the dominant and subjugated segments of a system will become polarized (p.134)

This implies a possible role paradox for the CDer. Should he attempt to strengthen the power of a community group by human relations and leadership training so that that group can fight governmental policy or program inequities? Or should he merely provide technical or informational assistance, and then withdraw to the comforts of his government or university office? If his intervention stops at data-giving, is he not silently supporting the status quo? To whom does he or she owe an ethical responsibility?

- c) The more violent the intergroup hostilities, and the more frequent the conflicts among groups, the less likely are group boundaries to disappear (p. 138)

For CDers who assume the advocate-activist role of intervention, the solidification of group boundaries, among other things, becomes important. Radical and violent advocacy is often a non-integrative function vis-a-vis the whole system. The credibility of the activist CDer depends upon how well he can clarify his group's internal solidarity, its boundaries, and its goal achievements. Hence, activist-advocates in CD may provoke intergroup hostility to achieve these ends.

- d) The less violent the conflict, and the more the social whole is based on functional interdependence, the more likely is the conflict to have integrative consequences for the social whole (p. 139)

✓ Here non-radical-activist advocacy is best deployed as a change strategy - as power-coercive, or as an ethical orientation. Although advocacy intervention has the effect of increasing a group's internal solidarity and clarifying its boundaries, this need not mean that the group cannot functionally integrate into the wider community, city, regional or provincial system. Lack of vision by the CDer may limit the group's success to a few short-term gains at the expense of a meaningful relationship with the wider social system. Primarily, group norms and social norms govern the advocate CDer's behaviour.

- e) The more conflicts are objectified above and beyond individual self-interest, the more intense the conflict (p. 167)

Where community groups are unable to resolve internal problems so as to get on with their assigned task of promoting social welfare or achieving distributive justice for constituents, they are less prepared to defend their principles and ideology against external threats of co-optation or coercion. The CDers role here is to prevent goal displacement within groups through various Organizational Development consultations, and also to keep external issues prominent in the minds of members. The strategy to reduce the conflict is normative-re-educative. To inflate it is power-coercive. The ethics are teleological and advocacy, respectively.

- f) The more that conflict occurs over core values, the more violent the conflict (p. 170)

CDers often have a dual role, namely, isolating core values within the group and isolating core values at the root of the issue external to the group. The usual ethic is to reduce conflict wherever possible, within the group or between the group and another social agency. Core values should be tapped, exposed, coalesced and used to the group's advantage. Rational-technical strategies can be used to discover them - sampling, testing. Normative re-educative strategies may be used to create consensus - T-group, sensitivity training, group process, and power-coercive strategies might be used to transform core values into criteria for objectives and goals, as well as for implementing these goals. Ethical problems may arise in any case, if there is irreconcilable disparity between the agent's basic values and those of the client system, and if the agent persists in his desire to stay on as expert-consultant.

2. On the issue of exchange behaviourism (Homans):

- g) The more frequently persons interact with one another, the more alike their activities and their sentiments tend to become, and vice versa. (pp. 218-19)
- h) The higher the rank of a person in a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norms of the group, and vice versa.
- i) The higher the person's social rank, the wider will be the range of his interactions.
- j) The more nearly equal in social rank a number of people are, the more frequently they will interact with one another (p. 219).

It follows from g) and j) that -

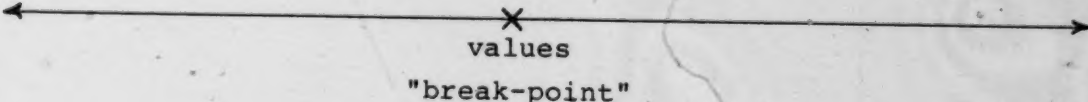
- k) The more nearly equal in social rank a number of people are, the more alike their activities and their sentiments tend to become and vice versa.

Here we see some important findings which directly bear on the role of CDers, their strategies, and their ethics. The reduction of status of CDers to that of being equal with client group-members, is an intrinsic part of CD theory (Robinson and Clifford. This reduction of status occurs as part of the process of group entry, or "getting in", (Daniels, 1980). Normative-re-educative and especially power-coercive strategies, are more likely to contain the agent role of resocializing to the in-group norms and mores, rather than rational-technical strategies. CDers who use various innocuous or devious methods to manipulate behaviour, as might be found in the first two strategies, try to make the client group their reference group for the duration of the interface period. The norms of the expert and the lay group converge to permit the greatest degree of trust and sharing, and consequently, of interaction.

With the exception of advocacy, CD interventions often cast the agent in a "double-bind", between the degree to which he is willing to abandon his out-group norms in order to be more accepted, and the extent to which he feels he must retain his professional norms in order to maintain peer respect and professional privilege.

This dilemma of "marginality" can be schematically viewed as follows.

Figure 15. CD Intervention and Agent Norms-Identification

<u>Rational-technical</u>	<u>Normative-re-educative</u>	<u>Power-coercive</u>
objectivity	objectivity/subjectivity	subjectivity
neutral	neutral-to-partisan	partisan
out-group norms	out-and/or in-group norms	in-group norms
little marginality	marginality	no marginality
intensity of normative identification:		
		

Much of this follows from Homans' propositions stated above. For example, university-based CDers who conduct community research by using rational-technical strategies, seldom are required as part of their intervention to interact normatively with clients. Most meet with community leaders (not always at the community's request), inform them of their intentions to survey, sample, or obtain historical data, and for what purposes, obtain permission to proceed, gather data, compile a report which might be used for local policymaking or for placement in a scholarly journal. There is no requirement for this type of agent to compromise or abandon his professional norms. He merely goes in, gets what he wants, and gets out, without his status as a professor of agricultural economics (or whatever) being challenged or threatened. His client interaction time is brief relative to other strategies, and his personal values may never be questioned. He continues usually to favour the ideology and status quo norms of his professional association and employer.

Because of the educational and group process components associated with normative re-educative strategies, client interactions are much more intense, if not longer, than rational-technical methods. Once there, he does not simply supply knowledge or process it in ways that keep him detached from the client's values, norms, mores or ideology. The agent helps the client problem-solve through collaborative interactions, many of which require methods from the behavioural sciences.

The agent accepts with the client that change is necessary and beneficial, and the CDer assists the client to reconstruct new group values from knowledge brought to the interface. "By getting the values of various parts of the client system along with his own, openly into the arena of change and by working through value conflicts responsibly, the change agent seeks to avoid manipulation and indoctrination of the client, in the morally reprehensible meanings of the terms" (Chin and Benne, p.33). Since the focus is on interaction, the agent tries to reduce his rank as an external "expert" and become a colleague to client members. This follows from Homans' theorem: The agent must transform his external rank to an internal rank, acceptable to the client group, thereby achieving theorems h) and i)'s rules.

But it is here also that the pressure to compromise the agent's external pre-entry values is greatest. There may in fact be a "break-point" at which the agent begins to reject the values of his employer, profession or heretofore

socialized life, and to accept the new or different values emerging out of the interface. This may especially tend to happen if the client represents a severely disadvantaged group of a group having a history of political agitation. The agent may find himself moving from advocacy of outcome to advocacy of party, and to the extent that this brings on cognitive dissonance and role confusion his behaviour is marginal. Clients usually welcome the resolution of values differences in their favour, for to coopt an expert into your way of thinking and acting is a rare occurrence relative to the more prevalent rational-technical interventions.

3. On the issue of exchange structuralism (Blau):

- 1) The more services people can supply in return for the receipt of particularly valued services, the less those providing these particularly valued services can extract compliance (p. 253)

Of course Blau is talking about exchange relationships where reciprocity is the norm. To the extent that one can extract compliance over esteem or respect, social approval or money, he is in the position of having the most power. Compliance is the most valuable class of rewards in an exchange relationship. This explains why advocacy CDers might be seen as "power-hungry egoists" by peers using other methods. That is, advocates use more than just knowledge as power to gain or retain their status, or to extract compliance. They use their charisma or ego-involvement, plus their own values, and usually receive much more publicity for their actions.

Since most CDers using the rational-technical or normative-re-educative approaches are intellectuals attached to a university or to government agency, the norm of reciprocity usually stops at social approval, esteem or respect. Anything else received places the agent in a position of possible moral irresponsibility. A professor of rural economics who receives financial reward for his CD services to a small town organization, above and beyond his own salary, transgresses a professional norm. Similarly, he transgresses if he extracted compliance among community group members in any way other than by knowledge diffusion or by the "accepted" methods of group process. Advocates, especially privately employed advocates, are not so constrained.

Blau's first theorem above might translate in a CD context to: "The balance of exchange and rewards between the services a community group can provide, and those of a government agency which it needs, will not, or is less likely to permit the government agency to make them do what it wants". Most CD interventions are meant to create or maintain this balance of reciprocal power relations.

- m) The more alternative sources of rewards people have, the less those providing valuable services can extract compliance (p. 253).

Again, the role of the CDer is to act as a supplier, linker or facilitator of alternative sources of rewards, whether he is a government agent or not.

This in itself is an amoral act. It becomes moral when the purposes for which the rewards are to be used are declared. It is normally the CDer's "duty" to advance his client towards the higher values on a shared hierarchy of values - justice, truth, human welfare. This is his "end" or teleological ethic. To the extent that he advances the client towards more shortterm, middle-range values (efficiency, needs-response, decision-making skill, financial independence), he performs a "means-ends" or utilitarian ethic.

- n) The more those receiving valuable services from particular individuals can employ physical force or coercion, the less those providing the services can extract compliance (p.253).

This theorem relates immediately in CD to minority-group clients who attempt alternative methods rather than democratic participation to achieve goals - some Native groups, Women's Rights groups, labour unions, ratepayers. Minority or disadvantaged groups are targets for social science advocates (like Alinsky) who may be willing to pay the price of professional ostracism in the pursuit of social justice. Such justice is often expressed as less prejudicial treatment of minorities, better housing and services, equal access to educational and other social institutions, more equitable distribution of wealth, lowered inflation rates, recognition of children's rights, and so forth.

Advocacy ethics may be forced to include violence as a moral act, especially when the client's basic rights are curtailed or its members' safety and physiological needs (after Maslow) are in jeopardy of not being met.

- o) The more those receiving the valuable services can do without them, the less those providing the services can extract compliance (p. 253).

Somewhat similar to theorems l) and m), this rule of behaviour justifies CD interventions which try to increase a community group's power base, and thereby, in terms of resources and accessibility, make the group more independent from service suppliers. On the other hand, it rationalizes a government's actions to increase local or regional dependencies (usually economic and political) or to never completely give interest groups what they want. Government-employed CDers may find themselves constantly having to apologize to community associations, voluntary groups, farmers' co-ops - for not being able to give them the total financial or technical assistance they need. The ethical responsibility of the agent may be questioned by unsuspecting community groups who feel democracy should be as perfect in practice as it is in theory. Agents may be "tested" by the client by having to account for congruence or incongruence among his professional code of ethics, his personal values and norms as a citizen, and the perceived ethics of his employer.

Exchange theory (Homans, Blau, Everson) has provided useful theorems to assist CD theory and practice. Hessler, New and May (1980:324-25) have found for instance, that -

With the exchange model those who have the power to define research problems also have the greatest access to the application and development process. Community knowledge about research and its findings, coupled with the power to make recommendations, provides a firm link between research and its findings, coupled with the power to make recommendations, provides a firm link between research and development. In point of fact, we have found that increase in community power over research coupled with greater exchange between researcher and community, improves the researcher's access to types of data and levels of meaning unavailable to conflict or consensus researchers...

Exchange methodology leads us to conceptualize development as social change with a human face... Such development might not be any more rational or competent than that produced by conflict or consensus models. It would, however, be smaller in scale than that produced by the consensus model, and closer to the values and needs of the consumer than conflict research would yield (p.328).

To the extent that values and norms regulate exchange behaviour among human actors, exchange theory provides a rich base from which to make inferences about actor ethics. In CD it focuses our attention on possible agent and client motives insofar as the norm of reciprocity is seen to work. The "trade-offs" between agent and client are mostly normative acts where values are changed into symbols - like a handshake, a nasty letter, a final report, or a signed contract. To the extent that these behaviours can be observed and values inferred from these actions, one should be able to adduce norms which have governed the use of these values.

And when norms are made explicit, ethics are also revealed. And further, if we know in advance which ethics each party purportedly subscribes to, then we could hypothetically assess how responsible each party has been in adhering to these ethics, be they professional or otherwise.

There are, however, some major attendant problems with exchange theory, as with many other social science theories. The major one which Turner (p.284) notes is, "How are the values of actors to be defined and measured independently of the behaviours they supposedly influence? For example, how is it known what a person values"? He also concludes that "As long as the major independent variable of exchange theory - value - is difficult to separate from the principle dependent variable - behaviour - the problem of tautology will continue to surface in exchange theory" (p.288).

Comparing Hessler, New and May's statements with Turner's, we see that a quasi-theory in need of repair to its central conceptualizations can yet have utility in the field. Unfortunately, in CD and other literature on development I fear we are too used to hearing only about successes.¹² I pine for more "failure" research or "failure" interventions to be publicized.

As previously mentioned, the problem of identifying "ethical" from "non-ethical" behaviour is problematic enough in real human settings, since we can never be sure about the other person's motives. For example, consider the following moral dilemma from Brody (1970:4):

The boat you were on sank, and you are with a group of survivors on a lifeboat that is sinking because there are too many people on it. Unless several people are pushed off, you will all die. Someone has proposed a lottery as a fair method of choosing the victims. Although the moral rule against murder seems to imply that you should not hold such a lottery, it seems that better consequences (the survival of more people) would come about if you did hold the lottery and push off the losers.

What do you do, and with what justification? Who determines the post facto ethical nature of your actions? Can circumstantial morality over-rule the law?

Consider for example, a Community Developer, an economist employed by a provincial agency, who receives a phone-call from the president of a small-town community club. The club wants money to purchase and renovate a large home near the downtown area, in order to open a shelter and referral centre for battered wives and un-wed mothers. Your sister is a battered wife, and you have been quite concerned lately for her continued welfare. As a CDer, you are able to provide capital funds to community groups registered as non-profit organizations, for purposes relating to the erection or purchase of buildings and property.

But your agency's local mandate limits the use of such funds to causes which "will reveal demonstrable and immediate benefits to the local community", such as increased income for the town or increased public participation in sports, educational or recreational events.

The club president says you are the last hope, for they have tried all other government offices and cannot raise the funds from them nor from local citizen support. Taxpayers are already heavily burdened with a large corporate deficit from last year. You have been invited to a joint meeting of the community club and the town council to explain your agency's "inability" to respond, since the request is inconsistent with your employer's mandate. One of the aldermen asks you how you can personally be in favour of the idea, yet you apparently reject it as a "government bureaucrat". How do you respond openly to this charge? How do you rationalize the government's position if you believe the referral centre symbolizes higher values than what its policies contain? What makes you stay on as a CDer with that agency (or leave it)? Does a professional code help here?

This somewhat overstated but feasible illustration of a CDer dilemma zeros in on a basic source of ethical anxiety in many CD agents - the duality of citizen-professional roles. In CD, where a professional code does not as yet exist, one can only assume that any anxieties of a moral

nature which arise during CD interventions will cause the CDer to resolve them on the basis of employer guidelines and/or those of his discipline's professional code. Where neither exists, he is then left to his own devices - his personal morality.

These anxiety or dilemma-causing conditions, I would guess, seldom give CDers much grief, since I further suspect they are resolved in the direction of existing codes and employer requirements. Nor does every intervention mean that core values are shaken or even discussed, since most interventions are certainly class-related, usually middle-class to middle-class.

But I fear, however, that where dilemmas do occur - where core values conflict strongly between the agent and his client, reliance on a code is insufficient in itself to expect the agent to be morally responsible. The Canada Council (1977) has found for example, that with regard to "Canada's institutional and professional codes of ethics" -

"...close examination of these codes reveals that almost all tend to withdraw with qualifications what they have asserted in principle, so that a researcher is provided with many reasons why he may, in the interest of science, compromise on ethical principles. He is thus left with few firm guidelines to determine whether or not it is wrong for him to do so. Moreover, no consideration is given in any of the university codes to the special problems faced by researchers working outside their own culture and little consideration to third-party risks. Generally, no special mention is made of unforeseen damage, vulnerable populations, secondary use of data, remuneration of subjects, types of psychological damage and other forms of risk or types of invasions of privacy.

There is often no consideration given to the desirability of using independent advocates for children or for captive populations. Little guidance is offered to the researcher or review committee and there is little or no discussion of the purposes of ethical review, the various aspects of the key issues involved, the trouble spots to look for or the question of where lies the burden of proof (p.2).

The CDer with no specific ethical code for his "profession" is therefore subject to these same circumstances if he uses the code of his discipline - anthropology, sociology, economics. There are very few sanctions to be brought against a CDer who compormises on ethical principles, whatever their source. Hence, my present interest in focusing on this problem. For it is a problem if client rights are not placed above those of social-scientist practitioners. If the problem is not re-dressed, assuming it exists in more than meagre proportions, it leads to comments like the following:

The complex of problems that is now bidding for our attention is no longer composed mainly of sloth, brutality, and incompetence permeating existing remedial programs; it now includes, increasingly, threats of excessive and arbitrary technical professional effectiveness.

E. Bittner, President, SSSP,
SSSP Newsletter, vol. 12, no.4
(1981) p.2



CHAPTER V

CASE STUDY:

The Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO) Experience: A Personal Report

It is my intention in this next extensive case analysis to portray some of the real ethical dilemmas associated with community development in northern Ontario. I have chosen to respect the rights of key participants to anonymity. Also, the case is an ex-post-facto normative evaluation, for which recall is relied upon, as well as some primary data from the original experience. Case studies, especially as participant-observation reports, have been strongly defended as having explanatory, descriptive, and exploratory usefulness (Yin, 1981).

CDer Traits. The following job advertisements are typical of those traits required for CDers in Northern Ontario. These appeared recently in two September, 1981 issues of Thunder Bay's CHRONICLE JOURNAL newspaper, and closely resemble the job description which I was given when I started as a "Community Development Officer" (CDO) in 1973, with the Ontario Government.

MINISTRY
OF
CULTURE and RECREATION

Community
Resource Officer

\$23,600 - \$28,600

This is an opportunity with the native community branch to deliver its development program in the Kenora and Central Patricia districts of northwestern Ontario. You will work closely with native groups in the development of community initiated projects; assist them in the effective operation and evaluation of projects and in accessing government and other resources, etc., advising on procedures; liaise and coordinate activities as required. Location: Kenora, with possible relocation to Sioux Lookout. File REC #75/81.

Qualifications: Extensive experience in working with community groups and native people; basic knowledge of community organizations and how they function; generalist knowledge of potential project areas (economic development, social service, cultural and heritage enrichment); well-developed consulting, counselling and writing skills.

Community Development Specialist

\$33,000 — \$41,500

The MINISTRY OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS seeks a professional to formulate policies, programs and generate projects designed to stimulate and accommodate economic development in Northern Ontario. you will generate, plan and co-ordinate capital projects to develop and improve regional and community infrastructure and services; investigate and develop new concepts and technologies for northern community living and development; prepare recommendations on municipal planning, organization and finance; co-ordinate program activity with the public sector.

Location: Sudbury.

Qualifications: Honors degree in economics, specializing in urban and regional planning, public administration, commerce or business administration or related discipline with many years experience in community development, finance and planning; ability to co-ordinate at senior levels and to function as part of a multi-disciplinary team; understanding of the organization and structure of government and budgetary and policy approvals process; familiarity with people and economic circumstances of Northern Ontario; excellent leadership, interpersonal and communications skills.

Less qualified applicants may be considered at a lower salary.

Please submit application/resume quoting file MNA 81-15 by September 4, 1981, to: Mr. G. M. Carbert, Senior Staffing Officer, Staffing Section, Ministry of Northern Affairs, 1st Floor, West Tower, 1201 Wilson Avenue, Downsview, Ontario, M3M 1J8.

Equality of Opportunity for Employment.



Ontario

**Ontario
Public Service**

Both of the above positions would permit the recipients to use the umbrella term of Community Developer. Although geared towards different clients, both represent valid CD activities - economics and human relations. Neither, of course, mentions advocacy roles, nor do they mention research functions.

This is because most "hard-core" quantitative and qualitative research of a social-psychological and demographic nature is done by Lakehead University,¹³ by outside consulting firms,¹⁴ or by local Ministry representatives.¹⁵

Few researchers who do this kind of data-gathering however, are called community developers in Northwestern Ontario. CDers here are mostly consultants and "process" facilitators, meeting regularly with other government officials, local leaders and less frequently with citizens themselves. CDers who attempt advocacy activities, with the possible exception of social work, must do so covertly, or run the risk of being "transferred" to another office remote from where they are stationed, or they might be terminated, although this is very rare.

CDers in Northwestern Ontario (NWO), my particular stomping grounds, do not have a professional code to follow, nor do their employers except for the general regulations governing all civil servants. As in my case, my initial job description was all I had to go on, to determine the "paper" limits to my behaviour. This is especially true of contract work (see Appendix B). My actual office and peer relations provided me with quite different, less literal, limits.

My Role. After completing a Master's degree in Adult Education from the University of Toronto, I was successful in applying for my position with the Ministry of Community and Social Services, Thunder Bay, as a Community Development

Officer (CDOII). My starting salary was \$12,000. I had about two years experience as a Research Officer for the Northwestern Field Office of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). This previous work with small regional school boards and educators had given me a firm footing for this new job.

As a CDO in Thunder Bay for the Ontario Government, I was to take charge of the office of the Citizenship Branch, which led me into the following types of activities:

- responsibility for all regional English-as-Second Language programs for newcomers and indigent ethnics.
- working closely with Native, ethnic or community cultural associations to facilitate their needs.
- providing financial assistance to these non-profit groups through various grants or "seed-money" programs of the Ministry.
- promoting "good Ontario citizenship" wherever or whenever possible throughout the region.
- administering an office, staff, and small budget with extensive travel to regional communities when required.

I was a "knowledge-diffusing" and "process" consultant, performing mostly normative-re-educative interventions as an external change-agent. It was understood that I would maintain a "proper" image as a benevolent bureaucrat,

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and would be required to make regular visits to head office in Toronto to be appropriately groomed through professional development workshops. At that time I had no regional boss aside from sporadic visits by the senior staff of the Director's office in Toronto.

Early Developments. I was one of the few regional CDOs with a Master's degree. Most others had a B.A. or less, with experience making up for academic deficiencies. The counter-culture events of the late 50s and early 70s, of which I was a part in my undergraduate days, had the intellectual and psychological legacy of making me and a few of my peers in other government offices suspicious of bureaucracy and its often excessive, hidden controls over average people. Books like Rozak's The Making of a Counter Culture (1969), Avorn's Up Against the Ivy Wall (1968), and of course, Marcuse's One Dimensional Man (1964), were also on the private library shelves of one or two colleagues who had pursued graduate studies in Southern Ontario. Mr. Green who was a CDO for the local Secretary of State office, was one of these persons with whom I shared similar socio-political views. We also lived near each other on our respective "back-to-the-land" farms, in a small rural hamlet, 32 miles southwest of Thunder Bay. Thus, over the years we came to work closely in providing services to outlying communities and in-town groups. We frequently shared sauna parties with other friends and families, and often went to local dances and club meetings together.

But we both needed the work, to pay off mortgages and car loans. Hence, from 1973 to 1976 we begrudgingly accepted bureaucracy at work, yet abhorred it everywhere else, and did the best job we could to fulfill our respective mandates, despite our ideological differences with our respective employers. I felt that we had done what Goffman (1956) said occurs in assuming a new role, namely "putting on a mask", in order to perform more effectively by giving the impression of having the ideal qualities for the position. As Argyle (1969:368) puts it, in speaking of Goffman's point:

When he (the role occupant) has given this impression long enough, the role becomes an integral part of the personality, and is no longer a mask. It is in this way that people become moulded to occupational roles, or become members of a new social class. (my brackets)

Only with us the mask never entirely disappeared. There was no doubt some subconscious absorption of bureaucratic values. We were what Merton (1957:212) calls "alienated intellectuals", given to the same kinds of "frustrations of the intellectual in bureaucracy". As he put the matter-

- (1) those frustrations deriving from conflict of values between the intellectual and the policy-maker, and
- (2) those deriving from the bureaucratic type of organization itself (p. 223).

There were other initial frustrations which had to be overcome - the tendency for clients to treat us as elites with privileged accesses to resources, and our own self-concepts. The role paradox we came face-to-face with in our dealings is no better explained than by Plant (1974:69):

It seems therefore from a consideration of elite theory that perhaps the community worker is faced with two sets of constraints on the realization of his ideal of the active community. On the one hand there is the general institutionalization of elites within the social and political structure generally - a fact noted by critics of democracy such as Pareto and friends of it such as Dahl and the other pluralists. The other kind of constraint may well come from the community worker's own position and training. That he has a certain amount of professional expertise may well frustrate the ideals of group control, participation and membership which he theoretically espouses. The criticism which comes to mind here is whether there is not something odd in the whole idea of community development in so far as this undertaken by professionals, in that the fact of their professionalism gives them an authority and a power which may well frustrate the development of precisely the ideals which lie at the centre of their thinking.

Our recognized attachment to government bureaucracies - viewed suspiciously by most northerners - was a fact we further had to challenge and overcome, through lengthy and repeated dialogues with community representatives.

But from continuous contact with each other and other like-types, over a 3-4 year period, we reinforced our anti-establishment values in spite of our necessary job conformism.

In the summer session of the Ontario Legislature, June, 1974, BILL 102 - An Act to Provide for the Incorporation

of Communities in Territory without Municipal Organization - was introduced by the Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics and Inter-Governmental Affairs, Mr. John White. The Bill did not get past third reading and was temporarily shelved. The Minister announced in August that a revised version would be reintroduced in the Spring Session, April, 1975.

The general intent of the legislation was to provide the provincial government with a legal mechanism - a Community Council incorporated and recognized as a municipal body - through which financial assistance could be provided to rural communities, in order to enable these communities to obtain adequate social and physical services presently lacking, such as water supply, sewage and garbage disposal, more extensive hydro and telephone service, fire protection, and so on.

The Bill in effect, provided the Minister with sweeping discretionary power over the affairs of the proposed new "Councils" in formerly "unorganized" territories. For example, the first few sections of the Act clearly outline these powers:

Section 3, (1) - "The Minister has jurisdiction over the decision to formally organize into a corporation, a currently unorganized community. The Minister may either grant or refuse a community's petition to become organized, or may organize the community of his own will in communities where the residents have expressed no desire to that end".

- (3) - "The Minister may arbitrarily establish the boundaries of communities which are to be incorporated. We may choose to either accept, change or reject the boundaries which citizens have defined where there has been petition for incorporation. We may also establish boundaries in the same manner as incorporation for communities which have no petition. Under this system it would be possible for example, to establish municipal boundaries which placed a community's major industry outside the municipality, and thereby not included in the tax base."

During the period before the proposed re-introduction of the Bill, later to become known as the "Northern Communities Act", the following agencies obtained or were given a mandate to do interim studies of the climate of opinion existing in the fifty or so communities affected. Those agencies were -

1. Citizenship Branch, Secretary of State Department, (federal) Thunder Bay;
2. Citizenship Branch, Ministry of Community and Social Services (provincial), Thunder Bay;
3. Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs ('TEIGA', provincial), Thunder Bay.

Now it so happened that the three people conducting these studies were myself, Mr. Green, and Mr. Martin, all good friends, and ideologically and politically of the same mind. This joint task, as it turned out, provided us with the opportunity to take our quasi-social scientist methods and knowledge, taint or paint them with our own

value judgements, and move from the usual rational-technical and normative-re-educative intervention styles into covert advocacy.

The "Nuts and Bolts" of the Process. Mr. Green was able to obtain a Challenge for Change grant (\$4,500.00 over four months) from the Department of the Secretary of State, to be funnelled through the sponsoring agency, the Free University of Nolalu (FUN).

The Role of FUN. In the summer of 1974 Mr. Green and I conceived of creating an adult education system in our own rural, unorganized hamlet of Nolalu (thirty-four miles southwest of Thunder Bay, population about 300). Our four or five years of living there had shown there to be a high level of indigenous talent among the local population - talent which surfaced in such skill areas as log house construction, jam preserving, ceramics and pottery, welding, chess, hairdressing, and in academic areas such as French and Finnish instruction, political science, Canadian history, community development, and so forth. Our suspicions about local interest were corroborated by the results of a random sampling of the area residents (n=100). This initial assessment spurred us on to mount some pilot courses, assisted by the Continuing Education Division of Confederation College. With some careful negotiations - so as not to steal too much of the College's "fire" - we were able to obtain an equitable under-

writing of the designated instructors' fees (about \$10.00 per hour). Mr. Green, Mrs. Green and I, prepared a ten-page Calendar of courses, similar to a standard university Calendar, but under three faculties - the Faculty of Serious Things, the Faculty of Crafty Things, and the Faculty of Artsy Things. The College agreed to print about four hundred calendars for us for distribution, and to provide diplomas for the graduates of these non-credit courses. Because our course fees were so low, namely \$5.00 per course, we decided to call it the "Free University of Nolalu". In September, 1974, the enrolment from the rural sector was over-whelming - more than 135 students registered for 13 courses. These courses lasted to the next summer, with repetitions for most and replacements for some. The President of Lakehead University, Dr. Andrew Booth, obtained a copy (somehow) of our calendar, and sent to the three of us a rather sardonic letter indicating his displeasure at calling ourselves a "University" and for interfering in the potential enrolment process at his institution.

Our efforts in operating this successful, rural experiment in adult education or "living-room learning" were given positive media coverage in Thunder Bay newspapers. I was also called in by the President of Confederation College, Mr. Bert Curtis, to be warmly praised for our efforts and admonished about the fact that our notoriety had spread to the Council of College Presidents and to various Ottawa politicians.

FUN survived for another two years but finally succumbed to pressures from instructors for higher wages, coupled with the College's withdrawal of financial support - the latter ostensibly due to "changes in the College's mandate" and "faculty union difficulties".

During the first year of operation, 1975, the Free University of Nalalu acquired a freely elected, community-based Board of Directors - but with our help. Mr. Green used FUN as the sponsor for the federal "Challenge for Change" grant of \$4,500.00, which was to be used to hire on contract a community worker and to pay for the costs of travel and taping - all associated with the grant objective of measuring community response to Bill 102. We had to structure a FUN Board in the Fall of 1974 to avoid a conflict of interest over Mr. Green's role. Later, in 1975, when I became President of FUN, I escaped the same role dilemma by relinquishing my position, for I had succeeded in obtaining a founding conference grant of \$2,500.00 from my own provincial Ministry.

Many philosophical discussions occurred between Mr. Green and myself in 1974-5 about the blatant co-optive powers that Bill 102 could hold over unorganized communities. Our personal values and beliefs meshed over this issue, and no doubt this unanimity was augmented by the fact that we too lived in an unorganized community. We had become protagonists for rural interests in our private, shared sentiments, but in our community meetings over the next few months, these

suppressed emotions publicly surfaced, only to be repressed again by hastily recalling to mind our "professional" duties and limitations. The virtue of discretion had become, and increasingly became strained, for us as bureaucrats of divided loyalties. In our hierarchy of personal as opposed to professional values, individual and community rights came before a distant government's right to coerce or extort for disguised political purposes and a precedent for increased central control and rural dependence.

Pre-Conference Events. From January to May, 1975, Mr. Green, Mr. Kola, the hired community worker, and Mr. Hillman, an Audio-Visual (AV) expert from Monitor North, a freelance filming company - visited over thirty regional unorganized communities (e.g., Caramat, Nolalu, Hurkett, Hudson, Nestor Falls, Kashabowie, Armstrong, Minaki, Shebandowan, MacDiarmid, Raith). I was only able to attend a few of these sessions. However, another colleague, Mr. Martin, from Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs (TEIGA) in Thunder Bay, attended many of these meeting as regional spokesman for Bill 102. It was he who I believe had the most difficulty reconciling his convictions with his role. He nonetheless, brought important TEIGA mandarins from Toronto to many of these meetings, and their ineptness at responding to citizen queries over the Bill facilitated citizen resentment.¹⁶ And like the rest of us, he gladly shared his true opinions about the Bill, when alone with community leaders.

The travelling threesome came to resemble a "Royal Commission" in its presentation format, akin to a Bergertype but with far less formality. Mostly the shortcomings of the Bill were emphasized, except in the presence of visiting civil servants where these deficiencies were down-played. The study group encouraged citizens in the various communities to prepare joint briefs and send them to their respective MPPs or to Mr. White directly. Although no reports were ever sent solely by community groups, opinions extracted from the taped gatherings was almost entirely critical of the Bill.

After May, the results of the regional study were prepared in report form and filed to the local TEIGA office, signed both by Mr. Green and Mr. Martin. I had some editorial input into the final document, as did several other key individuals.

Mr. Green and I, over the summer months of 1975, succeeded in gathering together a consortium of CDer friends, all of whom had expressed a deep interest in Bill 102 and the process of community sensitization that had taken place. Our intentions were to have this group act as a steering committee for developing and implementing a regional conference for unorganized communities. We had felt that the great regional interest in the Bill, coupled with other issues that had been raised, warranted some kind of collective response from the communities. We believed this to be the only effective means of indicating massive solidarity to government officials.

Such a gathering would also mobilize untold or unidentified regional resources from the hinterland areas - to us, the only way to combat the invisible power of a Toronto-based Goliath. Our motives had also been shaped by the daily anxieties we experienced over the impotence of our respective employers in responding to more typical community needs, rural and urban. One becomes inured to the routine of having to make front-line excuses such as "Well, the money should be here soon", or "Toronto has promised you'll get an answer next week". This role feature contrasted strongly with our personal views as to how service delivery should really work.

Our supplications were successful without much effort, and the group we assembled agreed to act as the Steering Committee for a regional conference on Bill 102, to be held in September. There was little or no talk among us at that point about the possibility of a regional association being formed. But it was this group of CDers which, through its careful planning at the outset, and its continuous dedication to helping the communities enter into direct dialogue with government officials, became the catalyst for participation and change. We reflected a broad spectrum of knowledge, skills and experience, as shown from the following group profile:

UCANO Conference Steering Committee

- Mr. Parker; age: early 40's; education - Bachelor of Divinity; profession - Director, Company of Young Canadians (CYC), Thunder Bay Region; ten to twelve

years experience in community development work; an ordained minister.

- Mrs. Dawson; age - 31 years; education - high school, plus some community college courses; profession: home-maker and community leader (Hurkett); six to seven years in community development (voluntary and occasional contracts) in an unorganized community; a driving force, later to become Executive Director of UCANO; a group harmonizer.
- Mr. Warton; age - early 40's; education - some university and self-taught adult educator (Director, Rural Learning Association of Ontario); profession - CDer with the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department; about 10 years related experience in CD; a training specialist in Human Relations.
- Mr. Hillman; age - early 30's; education - university to BA level (?); profession - communications - media expert and Director of his own firm; about 3 years of CD experience; an Human Relations and communications training specialist.
- Mrs. Barker; age - late 30's; education - B.A. plus specialized courses; profession - a CDer for various agencies (contract); about 10 years related experience at "grass-roots" level; a specialist in process and affirmative action; a strong driving force for Citizen participation.
- Mr. Green; age - late 20's; education - B.A. and a Master's degree (Political Science); profession - Senior CDO with the Secretary of State Office, Thunder Bay; about 5-6 years related experience in urban and rural settings; a highly skilled specialist in CD process, program development, Human Relations and advocacy intervention; a highly effective group leader, and the central driving force for the total UCANO process.
- Mr. Hill (author); age - 31 years; education - a B.A. in sociology and an M.Ed. in adult education, plus several business and management diplomas; profession - a CDO and Head of the Citizenship Branch, Ministry of Community and Social Services (and later, Culture and Recreation), Thunder Bay; about 5 years of directly related experience, in urban and rural settings; a skilled specialist in Human Relations, management development, adult education, innovative programming, and advocacy intervention; a more latent force in the creation and sustaining of UCANO.

The Steering Committee met severally and collectively, especially in July and August, to finalize the conference plans. Through my Ministry, I succeeded in obtaining a conference grant for \$1,000.00, and Mr. Green had similarly obtained a "Summer-Works" grant of \$2,500.00 to hire Mrs. Barker as a Steering Committee and conference planning facilitator.

During this time, we at the Free University of Nalalu drafted and submitted our own response to Bill 102, to the Ontario Cabinet, and itemized nine major short-comings of the proposed legislation. Our closing statement was "Government often pays lip-service to 'grass-roots' participation. But we know better. We live where the grass is and we know what our roots are. We're just waiting for a better chance to participate" (p.8, Unorganized Communities and Government Responsibility, FUN files). We did not disclose our individual identities, of course, as this might have led to a breach of confidence and subsequent dismissal by our respective employers. In short, FUN was used as a "cover" for our subterranean advocacy on behalf of the unorganized communities.

FUN was a legitimate front for Mr. Green and myself, to create a crucial people - vs. - government confrontation, one which we were convinced would lead to an informed and just policy for service delivery to unorganized territories. And the confrontation was to be public, persuasive and polite - an agreeable yet challenging task for the others of the Steering Committee, as well as ourselves.

The marginality of our dualistic roles raised a few eyebrows, but we were capable of confining our deceptions within a local cadre of confidants. Clearly we would have been violating any ethical codes as professional CDers, but no such control devices existed. Our roles as agents of the Crown would also have been compromised had we been detected, yet in retrospect, I do not think it would have made much difference, for the proposed policy was too blatantly corrupt.

We at FUN, mostly by the hard work of Mr. and Mrs. Green, continued to prepare six separate discussion documents - each a lengthy analysis of sections of the Bill - for inclusion as reading material in the conference "kits". Each community delegate would receive the package of information upon arrival at the conference. These short papers addressed such topics as -

- definitions and the concept of the "Community Council"
- the financial "powers" given Community Councils
- elections and the conduct of business
- background information (taxation, municipal organization, physical and social service provision, central control)
- conclusions and alternatives to Bill 102.

Examples of our concerns as expressed in these papers are given below.

"Therefore, above and beyond the provision of certain basic services to all residents of Ontario regardless of whether or not they live in areas with municipal organization - such services as police protection, education, welfare assistance, road maintenance - government will not contract to provide other services, including conditional and unconditional grants, to communities which lack some form of municipal government."

"Nearly 97% of the over 300,000 square miles of territory in Northwestern Ontario is unorganized for municipal purposes. According to the Directory of Statistics and Data for Unincorporated Communities in Northwestern Ontario, there are well over one hundred small communities in rural areas in Northwestern Ontario, of them without any form of local or municipal government. Populations in these communities range from 80 to 800. Excluding the unorganized townships where there are no small communities, only a scattered rural population, there is a total of over 10,000 people in these one hundred unincorporated communities. Save for direct road or highway links, in most cases these communities are virtually isolated, many being thirty or forty miles from a larger urban centre, (Dryden, Kenora, Thunder Bay, etc.). Some are well in excess of forty miles, virtually cut-off from larger centres and not accessible by land transportation. But isolation and geography are not the only factors inhibiting government from any decisive action. Many communities are subject to the 'boom' or 'bust' syndrome, economically. Where survival depends on the fortunes of a single industry in or near the community, economic stability is far from enhanced. Government seems reluctant to provide permanent services with long term financing arrangements to communities that possess little or no economic base."

"But again, the problem is not entirely due to the nature of these unincorporated communities. The function of government itself is largely to blame. Hundreds of social and physical service programmes are scattered over fifteen or twenty government departments. There has been little effort to develop a co-ordinated application of these programs and their numerous criteria, regulations and guidelines. The lack of a co-ordinated inter-ministerial policy to deal with the problems of social and physical services in these unincorporated communities is partially to blame for the rather drastic plight of some isolated communities."

"In many cases, rural communities would willingly accept the location of a commercial or industrial interest in or near the community because of job and other economic opportunities. Nevertheless, residents of the area should have some say as to its desirability and location. Bill 102 does nothing to change this situation. Save for a few regulatory powers given Community Councils, rural residents still will not have any effective voice in land use, zoning and land planning."

"There are two glaring omissions from this section of the legislation which merit attention. Nowhere in the legislation is there any mention of who may be elected to council. If 'inhabitants' and implied, it should be specifically mentioned. Secondly, because of the confusion over the definition of 'inhabitants', it should be proposed that a majority of council members must be permanent residents occupying a permanent dwelling in the community. This is consistent with the idea that binding decisions in a rural area who have a continuous interest in the affairs of the community and who must continuously live with the consequences of those decisions."

"Again, both the council and local residents should be consulted before any functions are varied. We certainly seem to have stressed the importance of consultation in our remarks on the legislation and while the provincial government has taken some steps in the past to encourage participation and consultation, it would appear that their legislation never mentions the process of participation in its contents. Even if government says that it is 'implied' in all legislation, we should point out that laws are not built on implications."

It was the Steering Committee, however which coordinated the actual activities for the conference, including an agenda, accommodations, meals, workshops, films and slides, and the inviting of relevant government officials (see conference agenda, Appendix L). Although consensus was not always possible within the committee, we all reached a high level...

of commitment and internal performance over chosen or assigned tasks. We had no formal leadership structure. Rather, division of labour was accepted on the basis of how well our external roles and practice matched the skills and experience required by the tasks. Personalities, political view, and personal values coalesced to make the committee an effective team. To outsiders, the "power" of our influence might have stemmed from our occupational heterogeneity, individual charismas, and our respectability as a CD knowledge source. The ethics of our activities and advocacy was never challenged publicly, probably because we became so convincing in our discussions with government officials as well as citizen groups or community representatives.

We also, I suspect, were accorded "commission"-like deference from persons with whom we collectively met. We were seen as "do-gooders", and those of us who were government employees had as little correspondence as possible with our Toronto or Ottawa superiors. Although our private motives were disguised to outsiders, the effectiveness of our advocacy for communities affected by the Bill was later manifested by things actually occurring which we wanted to occur - namely, a confrontation with government officials and the creation of an effective lobby organization, UCANO.

Our roles as government CDers were initially assigned a rational-technical, client intervention style, yet as we and the others came closer to the issue and the people affected by it, our methods shifted to a clear norm-

ative-re-educative model, thereby deviating somewhat from the expected norm. In the final analysis, the committee members had adopted the communities as clients in an advocacy, power-coercive intervention strategy. The communities were convinced all along that nothing short of a "show of strength" confrontation would secure their interests. In effect, we helped to reverse the process somewhat by creating the conditions for the eventual coercing of government into giving the communities what they wanted, namely, the creation of a new Ministry of Northern Affairs, the Local Services Board Act, and the Isolated Communities Assistance Fund. Arising from the conference, UCANO became the lobby group which greatly influenced the arrival of these changes.

The Conference. Over seventy-five persons, identified by the Steering Committee from the previous work of Mr. Green, Mr. Kola and Mr. Hillman, were invited as "delegates" to attend a "Bill 102" conference on September 12, 13 and 14th, 1975. The two-and-a-half day session was held at Memory Lodge near Cloud Bay, about thirty-five miles south-west of Thunder Bay, on the shore of Lake Superior.

The delegates who came (over 40) represented small, often one-industry communities, and Indian Reserves from as far away as two hundred and seventy-five miles, e.g., South Bay Mine, Pikangikum Reserve #14 (see map, Appendix D). Here is the profile of a typical unorganized community for which the Bill would have far-reaching effects, and for which the conference was seen to have direct relevance:

NESTOR FALLS (Godson Township)

- Nestor Falls was established in 1933 when the highway from the south was extended to Kenora. Tourism is the main industry within the community.

Location

- latitude/longitude 49N07 93W56
- district of Kenora
- located 56 kilometres north of the junction of Highways 11 and 71, on Highway 71

Population

- 315 (1979 estimated winter population)
- 550 (1979 estimated summer population)
- language spoken is English

Community Contacts

- Local Roads Board (Mr. A.C. Holstrum, Mr. H. Davidson)

Community Leader

- Mr. Alen Pope

UCANO Representative

- Mr. Joe Ivall

Government Contact

- Mr. Joe Kaliska, Ministry of Northern Affairs, Rainy River

Members of Parliament

- M.P.P. Mr. Pat Reid
- M.P. Mr. John Reid

Basic Services

- Electricity: Ontario Hydro
- Water: private systems
- Sewage: private septic tanks
- Solid Waste Disposal: Ministry of Natural Resources Site

Housing

- 70 habitable dwellings owned by occupants
- no Ontario Housing units or mobile home parks

Employment

- Many residents are employed locally in tourism and others commute to the Fort Frances and Kenora area to work in paper mills and bush camps

Stores, Businesses and Financial Institutions

- 2 grocery stores
- 2 taverns
- 4 restaurants
- 2 gas stations
- 1 seasonal bank from May to October; other banking facilities are available in Emo or Fort Frances

Schools

- Elementary: 1 public school
- Secondary: students are bussed to Fort Frances

Churches

- 1 Roman Catholic church
- 1 United church
- other denominations are represented in Emo and Fort Frances

Communications

- Canada Post Office, Nestor Falls
- Telephone: Bell Canada
- Newspapers: 2 weeklies from Fort Frances and Rainy River as well as 3 dailies from Winnipeg and Kenora

Radio Stations Received

- CFOB - AM
- CJRL - AM

Television Stations Received

- CBWT (CBC affiliate)

Transportation

- Bus Service: Excel Bus Lines
- Railway Service: available in Kenora and Fort Frances

Air Service

- available in Kenora and Fort Frances

Services

- Fire protection: volunteer fire brigade
- Police protection: Ontario Provincial Police, Nestor Falls

Medical and Social Services

- ambulance service available locally
- hospital in Emo
- health unit and social services are available in Fort Frances

Tourist Facilities

- 5 hotels-motels
- 10 lodges
- 18 cottage and cabin rentals
- 8 trailer parks (6 fully equipped and 2 with only electricity)
- Caliper Provincial Park (92 campsites and 24 trailer sites)

Recreation Facilities

- 2 curling sheets
- 1 outdoor skating rink
- prime hunting and fishing area

(Source: Northern Ontario Directory, Ministry of Northern Affairs, 1979/80 pp. 133-4)

Delegates who attended were mostly lower-middle class men and women (about 50/50 split), between 35 and 50 years of age, long-time residents (over 8 years), partial to complete high school education, and who worked or whose spouses worked in bush camps, mines, tourism or for the railways. Many were apprenticed tradesmen, yet many were unskilled labourers or homemakers. Most had children who were in high school, or had completed high school and had moved away to urban centres. Nearly all delegates were people who had a history of community involvement or leadership. And most had pre-set attitudes about the relative "ineffectiveness" of government agencies in meeting their respective community needs.

This latter characteristic carried over into the work sessions (see Appendix C) of the conference, which in some instances became "fox and the hounds" dialogues between delegates and the government spokesmen. Those government officials who did attend from the Ontario Fire Marshall's

Office, Ontario Hydro, Ministry of Natural Resources, Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs, Housing, Community and Social Services, Culture and Recreation, and so forth - were often hard pressed by questions from the floor. Delegates sought immediate explanations and answers to local problems of fire protection, water and sewage systems, and health and dental care - the central conference concerns beyond Bill 102's powers to organize. True to fashion, government officials were generally unable to appease these community-based concerns, and the 'bear-pit' phenomenon was most evident in the large plenary session, where the officials were seated lined up in a panel in front of the delegates.

The smaller work-groups however, ran much more smoothly. Each of the Steering Committee members was assigned to lead the discussions in the small groups and record responses. I felt the uneasiness of my role - conflict in these sessions particularly, for I often found myself having to guide the discussion in the presence of an out-of-town bureaucrat for whom I had little or no respect vis-a-vis the Bill, and who I could see was trying to disguise his impotence in seasoned but overpowering jargon. For me, it was very frustrating to present a public image of detached concern, while suppressing my urge to shout "You no-good, rotten bastard! What right do you have to usurp democracy from the hands of private citizens"?!

Others on the Steering Committee felt identical inclinations and anxieties, yet we each chose to keep our

professional "cool" in spite of these leanings. None of us was willing to risk losing the security of a regular paycheck.

The greatest and most vociferous hostility came from a Native contingent from the community of Armstrong. Their strong claims of provincial abandonment in all service areas were shouted so all could hear, during the plenary session. The typed, prepared statements of the government representatives were picked out by an Armstrong Native as "white man's only way of communicating with the Indian". And the attempts that followed at "off the cuff" explanations to the Bill merely tended to confirm what the Natives had really been trying to say.

Mr. Martin, the TEIGA representative and spokesman for Bill 102, and our "closet" compatriot, found the Natives particularly challenging to deal with publicly. He often appeared, as other officials did, easily embarrassed and insecure about his facts. Yet it was he who later produced a document which eventually led to the creation of an Isolated Communities Assistance Fund (ref. Proposals for Improving Opportunities for Local Government Services, Background Paper, TEIGA, November, 1976; esp. p. 14). Although he was not a Steering Committee member, his latent advocacy values were clear enough to us, from even his early involvements with the community study group. Not unexpectedly, he later resigned his position as a CDO with TEIGA, and ran unsuccessfully (Thunder Bay) for the provincial opposition party - the NDP.

In spite of the many criticisms the delegates made about remarks from the visiting dignitaries, the conference worked out very well from my point of view. For after the officials had left on the second day, we of the Steering Committee set out to socialize more intensely with the delegates. Motel-room parties ran until late in the night. We planned and coordinated their collective proposals for action. On the morning of the third day, Mr. Green, Mrs. Dawson and I, presented to the delegates a summation of issues and positions raised so far (see UCANO Position Paper, Oct. 1975, p.4), and proposed some alternative courses of action. One course would be to set up an interim executive and an informal "organization of unorganized communities" - the most forceful way we knew to combat government encroachment into their respective community affairs. This choice is what the majority of delegates requested. And after four hours of intense problem-identifying and ranking, with all the delegates, we hammered out the following six basic objectives for the fledgling organization:

1. to establish communication and consultation among the unorganized communities of Northwestern Ontario.
2. to provide a support base for these communities in dealing with specific issues and concerns.
3. to research problems and issues affecting the unorganized communities.
4. to provide a united voice for these communities in expressing their needs and preferences on matters of mutual concern.

5. to act as an advocate for the protection and preservation of the unique character and independent spirit of small and remote northern communities.
6. to act as an advocate for the preservation of the natural environment essential to the way of life of these communities.

After the conference, the following "News Release" appeared in six regional daily newspapers:

NEWS RELEASE

October 7, 1975

UNORGANIZED COMMUNITIES ASSOCIATION OF NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO (UCANO)

More than forty delegates from unorganized communities throughout Northwestern Ontario met at Memory Lodge, south of Thunder Bay, on September 12, 13 and 14 to discuss mutual problems and to hammer out the framework of an association which they hope will give unorganized communities a stronger voice in the public domain.

This Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario (UCANO) came into being at the conference as the people's alternative to provincial government attempts to legislate their communities into some sort of quasi-municipal status.

Opposition to any such legislation was unanimously expressed throughout the 3 day meeting.

The Association is seen as a vehicle for the transfer of information about government programs and policies to the communities, as a means of expressing the wishes and needs of the people in unorganized communities to government agencies and to the public at large, and as an advocate for the protection and preservation of the unique character of remote northern communities.

In a concentrated series of workshops and plenary sessions, the delegates sweated out a package of hard hitting resolutions on matters ranging from Crown land for residential housing, disposition of Crown lands for subdivision, cottage lots, recreation purposes, police and fire protection, medical services, Ontario Hydro rates, private industry townsites and services from Northern Affairs offices.

In a statement issued immediately after the Conference, a spokesman for the new Interim Executive of the Association said "We wish to stress that those present at this Conference did not claim a mandate from their communities to enter those communities formally into the Association. It is hoped that each unorganized community in Northwestern Ontario will formally elect a delegate to the founding convention which will be held in the new year, so that the Association may become a truly representative voice for the concerned communities."

Any unorganized community wishing further information should contact the Association Interim Chairman, Mr. Randolph J. General Delivery, Minaki, Ontario.

A local Initiatives Program (LIP) grant (of about \$10,000.00) provided salaries for the Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of the new Executive, from November, 1975 to May, 1976, and included a small amount for operating expenses. These two persons, Mr. Randolph and Mrs. Dawson, led the executive for the next year in researching and compiling information for the association. Mr. Randolph emerged from the conference as an eloquent, intelligent and effective leader. He was a tourist guide in Minaki, and had an Honours B.A. in Philosophy from Queen's University. He later authored the following documents and submissions on behalf of UCANO:

1. Fire Protection in the Unorganized Communities of Northwestern Ontario. A Brief Prepared for Submission to
 - the Hon. Wm. Davis, Premier of Ontario
 - the Ministry of Natural Resources
 - the Ministry of Housing, Ontario
 - the Ministry of Housing, Ottawa
 - the Office of the Ontario Fire Marshall
 - the Canadian Standards Association,February 20, 1976 (pp.10)
2. Position Paper, UCANO, October, 1975 (pp. 7)
3. Presentation to the Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission on Behalf of the Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario, October 9, 1975 (pp.6)
4. Preliminary Brief for the Planning Review Committee, Ministry of Housing, on behalf of the Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario, December 20, 1975 (pp.6).

Application was made to the Ministry of Culture and Recreation for \$33,000.00 to enable the association to publish a regional newspaper.

This was turned down due to an alleged lack of funds.

I was newly employed in this Ministry, and was told that I would be taking on additional functions, including the provision of recreation grants and "Wintario Provincial Lottery" grants to eligible community groups. The latter task assumed most of my consulting time, as it later turned out. It led eventually to my resignation from the Ministry in 1976, for I refused to be a financial stooge for the PC Party.

The Wintario grant system provided for funds from the lottery pool in Toronto to be transferred to the Ministry's regional offices. For communities to have access to these funds, whether for capital or non-capital projects, the communities or any of their non-profit organizations would have to raise one-third of their projects' total costs. The province would then match them 2-to-1 for every dollar collected. Few but the wealthy or middle-class groups could do this. Hence, typical announcements in the local and Toronto press, would read - "Flying Club gets new hangar from Wintario"; or "Thunder Bay Yacht Club receives helping hand from Wintario", and so on.

As I saw it, the Ontario Government was keeping the northern vote by placating the middle-class. Occasionally, a Native group would receive an unexpectedly high grant, but again for political mileage. Those, at least, were my impressions. I further suspect that the reason the unorganized communities association was turned down by

Toronto officials in my ministry, was because the executive members had been doing a lot of lobbying with a local member of parliament representing the "foe" party in the legislature - the NDP.

The suspicions, for which I felt I had firm evidence as both an "insider" and "outsider", reinforced my motives for advocacy intervention. I had clearly seen that the "squeaking-wheel" approach had produced for disadvantaged groups far more dividends in a short time than any of the government's methods of prolonged, "rational" problem-solving. I could see the frequent futility of the latter process, as a CDer charged with carrying it out, especially for some Native groups.

Middle-class, educated urban clients preferred the normative-re-educative and rational-technical strategies. Delegates to the September conference however, were mostly lower-middle to lower-class, with an observable "time-horizon" (Banfield, 1974) psychology limiting their view of progress or change to the present circumstances. I saw government grants programs as maintaining or even widening the existing economic inequalities. The creation of this new association might through effective lobbying make the distribution of northern wealth more democratic. The reduction of regional inequality among member and non-member communities is implied by its preliminary objectives. But the policies of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, along with those of other Ministries, tilt against this levelling of socio-cultural disparity.

As Porter (1965:301) has observed:

In Canada there is very little provision for cultural life through government policy, the general belief being that culture should either pay its own way or wait upon benefaction.

And Osberg (1981:184):

Economic growth may therefore be necessary if the current degree of economic inequality in Canada is to be tolerated, but there is little evidence that such a degree of economic inequality is necessary for economic growth.

Another grant request for \$10,000.00 was made to the Ministry of Culture and Recreation by the executive, to fund the May, 1976 conference. I believe the group received about half that amount in the end. However, the conference did occur: It was held at the Airline Motor Hotel, Thunder Bay, for two days. About thirty-five delegates attended from regional communities, some as far away as three hundred miles (Minaki). A new executive was elected, a final constitution ratified, and the acronym UCANO adopted to represent the Unorganized Communities Association of Northwestern Ontario.

By this time, I had resigned my position with the Ministry and had gone into private consulting. Mr. Green lasted in his post with Secretary of State until 1979; Mr. Martin left his job and went to law school in 1980. Mrs. Dawson remained the Executive Director from 1977 to November, 1981, when UCANO was dissolved. It had achieved its purposes.

I continued consulting with UCANO, however, often being hired to provide leadership training for its executive

until 1978. As a private, external consultant, I found I was much freer in terms of the methods I could use. I was not restricted to in-house educational packages or training programs as I was in government. I could use any knowledge source I wished. In government, as a CDer, I was tacitly required to perform my function as described by Huie and Crouch (1980:116).

Professionals (in CD) must understand that in government they will address the government officials they serve rather than the public. At the same time they can seek to influence the framework of social analysis and raise the democratic sensitivity within which officials must function...In doing this, individuals must be sensitive to political concerns and the political consequences of programs. This does not mean that professionals must become political - only that they are functioning in a political setting and must be aware of that fact. They must address issues in terms understandable to those they serve and must avoid academic discussions and over-intellectualization.

Unfortunately, this role analysis constrains the CDer to the dualism of citizen and profession, a role entirely suitable for utilitarian, or functionalist views of human processes. And since this has been shown to be ineffectual, over and over, during the past two decades (C.W. Mills, Lee, Gouldner, Schensul and Schensul) as an intervention device with individuals, groups of communities, it belabours the point to discuss it. Professionals who choose to do CD in this manner however, should be entirely free to do so.

But the shroud of disapproval should at the same time be lifted from professional CDers who choose to be advocates. Utilitarian ethics do serve the status quo, and no doubt the status quo needs to be served, but not at the expense of the disadvantaged nor of the need for social change where it looms up.

Advocacy ethics for CD are virtually non-existent in written form. A rare statement on the ethics of CDers as private consultants, not unrelated to advocacy, has been offered by Child (1980:109):

A necessary perspective is that the client's concerns are paramount, deserving of the consultant's loyalty, and subject to the best analysis and criticism of which the consultant is capable. This position must be maintained by the private consultant as long as the contract with the client holds. If the consultant cannot win the client over to a particular point of view, or the consultant cannot be won over, and the consultant regards this as critical for whatever reason, the consultant should terminate the contractual relationship.

This moral rule I have followed in my relations with UCANO and all other clients for whom I have privately consulted. The propensity to power abuse is more apparent in private advocacy CD, since the only constraint against flagrant manipulation of clients or their interests is the "malpractice insurance" which a contract provides. Contracts specify insurance which a contract provides. Contracts specify protection for both sides, usually, and in private CD advocacy many of the theorems from exchange theory are readily applicable.

UCANO folded two months prior to the date of this writing (see Appendix E). I regret to say that this very important organism of free democracy, where all participate with direct rather than proportionate representation has been coopted by provincial ministries bearing alms. It was offered in 1977, \$50,000.00 to administer a comprehensive fire-fighting program for its constituent communities, if it would subsume its operations under the aegis of a new ministry, the Ministry of Northern Affairs. Yet the offer never stood. UCANO had to later "apply" through the legislation of the Local Services Boards Act, in effect, a remake of Bill 102!

And so it goes. UCANO had become in Etzioni's (1968) terms, a "drifting" social system with high consensus but low control. Yet it had achieved significant social change for its constituent communities, by forcing new social service policies from the Ontario Government (see Appendix E).

AUDIO TAPE: This tape was recently secured with informed consent from the files of the now defunct UCANO office. It is the only recording made of any Steering Committee meetings. It highlights the main contents of the last Steering Committee meeting, held in October 1975, after the UCANO conference. It shows Mr. Hill and Mr. Green trying to retreat back into their former roles of civil servants using traditional intervention strategies. The tape is herein transcribed in its unedited entirety:

Mrs. Barker.. "Questions? Organizations from the top; rather than from the people. When they're introducing the whole question of Regional Government and the amalgamation of the school boards, and all that whole thing that went on. We had a conference of the NDP, in Toronto, and the people from the North, of course were absolutely opposed to the whole question of regional government and amalgamation of the schools boards and so on. And as it happened, it was Allan Nelson who was the spokesman for the people of the North; he spoke very movingly against the whole concept of Regional Government and amalgamation of the School Boards and so on as imposed from Queen's Park on the people whether they wanted it or not. And Donald McDonald was the leader of the NDP at that time and he got up and he said to Alan, "as an aside, if we were the Government of this province, we would be doing exactly the same thing; it has to go". And this is precisely the attitude that they are going to take in connection with Bill 102. They want the unorganized communities organized as legal entities so that they can deal with them. And they will use the nicest rhetoric and they will in fact believe that they are doing a good thing. You can not convince people who are so far away and have the rings of power in their hands, that the people know best. You can't convince them that the people know best. The only way you can do it is to demonstrate that the people know best. And I don't know how exactly you go about that, but one of the ways is the association, if it remains a free association of people organized for there own interests".

Mr. Hillman. "Certainly".
"Right"!

Mr. Warton... "Okay, so really one of the key things then is that they look at becoming self-sufficient in funding".

Mr. Hillman. "That's right"!

Mrs. Barker.. "That's right, but not really self-sufficient, but diversified enough. The other thing is you have to get your priorities straight; it's like they'll come down at you"....

Mrs. Barker..."...The process works, like this: they are going to have a meeting on, Urban Planning, in Toronto. They write your association and they say, "we'd really like your input. Send two delegates down, we'll pay your way". They pay your way, they pay you \$75.00 per day, they'll surround you around the heaviest dudes you've ever seen in your life, they'll use nice big words, they'll use nice flip charts, slide shows, and this is what we are going to do for you. You end up nodding your head, saying, "yes, this looks good", they then entrust you to go back to your communities and interpret for them, and they move right in. That's the way they do it, the only way you can escape it is you get your priorities straight right at the beginning, that we do not work for you, we work for those people who brought us out of these communities, and that's who we work for, and that's where our priority is. That's what we get settled, and when we have to deal with you, we deal with you in that kind of way, and if you want to come to a meeting - you come up here. That kind of thing. That kind of power that has to develop in the association; it has to develop quite quickly. If it doesn't develop quickly, you are co-opted. Ask any of those Treaty 9 organizations, or any of those organizations that went for that right away. They did it to me, for Christ sake".

Mr. Hill....."If it's an issue around which votes may or may not be lost or gained...."

Mr. Warton..."Do you want this (the microphone) off"?

Mr. Hill....."Oh, I don't give a shit... then I think a lot of consideration has to be given to the structure of the Executive, the association executive, in-so-far as it resembles or does not resemble the government approach, to problem-solving. I think in what ever way you can, stay from the government style in relations to those communities. Develop your own unique style".

Mrs. Barker..."Right, right"!

Mr. Hill....."Because otherwise, along with this creation of dependency, you will get assumptions being made in Queen's Park about how you conduct your affairs, that are probably for the most part inaccurate. And if you are a unique body then you will continually cause them to be on their toes. But, if you maintain a structure and ..."

Mr. Hill....."....a style that is exactly what they want, then you may find yourself being co-opted sooner than you think. Not just in terms of programs, but in terms of philosophy, etc."

Mr. Green...."Well if, as Cathy was saying before, if a lot of work has to be put into getting into communities, and actually having the communities support the association, then that's where the bundle of money is going to be spent, in terms of the executive travel, setting up those work shops again, showing the tapes, going over almost the same stuff as we did before. Presently, I can't think of a more harmless thing that Culture and Rec. or any government department could fund. Because that is going to happen in the next six months, if the executive has to look for something, in terms of provincial funding for a proposal, then the immediate thing to do is to set up the association and let it become an association. And all the monies that are normally attached to that kind of a function. You are running into thousands of dollars in terms of expenses, travel, setting up meetings, publicity, all you are doing essentially, is forming a real Association. And, if that becomes one priority I can't see any harm at all, or any difficulty in getting money from Culture and Rec., You now talk about \$10,000.00, I mean if you are going after them any way, you might go after them for as much as you can squeeze".

Mr. Hill....."Exactly"

Mr. Hillman."They'll give it to ya"

Mr. Warton..."Okay, one of the things to try to respond to what Terry was saying, if initially we insist that the committee itself and the executive have limited power, that they can't act without it, that they're really are representatives and remain representatives of the people of the community...like that type of thing".

Mrs. Barker.."That any major decision such as government funding or programs or policy statements from the association or so on, must be referred to the communities before the executive does anything about it. I think that the executive should be made very clear on that".

Mrs. Dawson.. "Well the last time I was talking to Rupert, that's what we're going to do on the executive meeting. We are going to draw up a position paper which will be submitted to all the communities to see whether or not they agree to the way we feel we should be functioning".

Mr. Green.... "I'd almost go to the point of saying that for the next six to eight months you send out resolutions to the government and delegates but, that almost in effect that's about all you do about the problems that you have identified. And the number one priority becomes, okay, creating that position-paper which is a list of general statements for the functions of the organization, but that is as specific as you get about problem-solving, and the next eight months is spent totally on organizational work in those communities, something to give them, that they can identify with...in terms of, okay this association stands for this, this and this, this is what it is going to do after it gets it's shit together. But if nothing else is done, forget about the problem-solving, the briefs, the research, and all that shit until eight months has past and you really have a good organization going. To get back to what you were saying about, the Treaty 9 etc. etc., the ripest plum to pick for co-opting is a regional association that has a hard time putting its roots where it should be. With local community groups that have the community behind them, there is no way they can do that, but when you've got regional representative associations...you know".

Mrs. Barker.. "That's right, that's my point, you see they have a harder time dealing with unorganized territories before this convention than they do now, and Elingsworth knew that, and that's why he was writing and he was going like this, they were happy for the association, they were pleased...and that's the danger".

Mr. Warton... "One of statements that was made so loud and clear, We want somebody to talk to in each community...deal with in each community".

Mrs. Barker.. "We want somebody we can deal with, so the association has to make it very clear, that they are the relationship with the community, that they are not the relationship with government".

Mr. Warton..."The only relationship with government right now is a PR liaison one, there is no place for comments to be made".

Mrs. Barker.."It's to make the organization as I see it; to make government aware of unorganized communities, that is what I see the relationship is".

Mr. Green...."Okay, that's the long term. What I'm trying to get at, right now the next six months is crucial and the only thing the association should do is totally introspective...just keep government supplied with only a few pieces of information, some resolutions, that kind of shit, but all the work should be kept internal".

Mrs. Barker.." Should be kept internal, in the communities with the association".

Mr. Green...."Yes, right and to hell with everything else".

Mr. Hillman."Also, you're having an Executive meeting. I think it's a moral obligations to these people...I don't really know what I'm going to say here...but, I'm quite concerned that we haven't provided enough support for them. Like, we started this bloody thing, and I think we have an obligation to support their ideas, and to work along with them, to make sure they're alright. I'm not trying to be biased about it. I'm not trying to put them down, but we have a moral obligation to make sure that they are able to carry on the things that they want to carry on..."

Mrs. Barker.."Not something that is imposed on them by somebody else".

Mr. Hillman..."...yeah, because, those people are a hell of a lot faster than we are. I mean the government is fast, when it wants to take over; and that's the essence of power... they move quickly, and that's how come they got it all".

Mr. Hill....."Yeah but, it's not always rational; you may know, or you may not know, that there is going to be another Queen's Park in Dryden in two years. This is Davis's approach to decentralization; in effect it is centralization in regions. Windsor is getting one built now, Dryden's getting started, if not this fall, this spring, and it will resemble this one..."

Mr. Hill....."...we have right here; it will have governmental services, correctional services, culture and recreation, community and social services, the whole bit, which is another way of throwing out a spider web into the remote areas".

Mr. Hillman."Northern Ontario".

Mrs. Dawson.."If I can just get back to what Jim said, he thinks that the community should no longer, like...you know, we have come here to today that this is it. But what Jim was saying, that we are letting the executives sitting high and dry, without really any kind of support that we can all get together and help them. Are you suggesting that we keep on? I would like to see that too, but what we were talking about today...how can (and I am so damn naive) I tell them what I learned today? And how it's affected me? And I would like everybody here to come to executive meetings until we get established, and input the ideas...and that's the way I look at it".

Mr. Green...."I think the only fear about that Cathy, I don't know if other people share it - but it's a personally one, - is that you get a group of civil servants, or quasi-civil servants or whatever, and it happens in a lot of cases where they are the ones that have to know how government works. They end up doing a lot of ground work, setting something up, and turning it over, the reins of authority, or whatever, over to a group citizens. I have become sufficiently sensitive to that. I would rather not become as involved as I was before...well, in terms of how we were operating before. So, I think if we end up giving up some kind of visible support, financial help, rides in cars, sleeping together, those kinds of things, it would be better than having all of us in the same capacity as before".

Mrs. Dawson.."No, I don't think you're right. I feel that you came on, that you and Ed decided to come on in an advisory capacity, and I do not see any reason why the committee sitting here today, cannot all do that, and you don't have to, you can go there and talk if you feel, and be sure that you don't take any jobs; you're community development people; you know how to hand it down to somebody else...Don't you?..You know".

Mr. Hillman."You saw it work didn't you"?

Mrs. Dawson.."Sure, I've seen it work, everybody, but I think to what I agree with you is..."

Mr. Warton..."You didn't see me out around the time of the elections, did ya"?

Mrs. Dawson.."What I'm saying is, I think we can all do it, though, Peter, don't you? Anybody going to say anything about it"?

Mr. Hillman."When you mentioned giving the reins over. Personally I don't feel that the ceremony of giving the reins over was adequate. I think we have a responsibility as people who went through the process, to at least have one meeting or be around this committee at the initial part to be able to help them reach certain decisions, what I'm saying is it's unfair to leave these people to their own resources".

Mr. Hill....."Yes, but my response is a personal response, and I am certainly on your side, but I think Peter's response and mine - which is similar is that - it's not just Peter _____ and Terry _____; it's a federal civil servant and a provincial civil servant and if it's one thing we do all the time, or I do all the time, or I do all the time is god-damn brink-manship, where you take a group to a point and you withdraw, and it's expected of you; it's expected of me as a civil servant and I hate like, to do that, but that is the way it is".

Mr. Hillman."Watch your timing, that's all I'm saying".

Mr. Hill....."Precisely, precisely, but I really feel, I would like to withdraw now in any decision making capacity, or any influencing capacity. I'd much rather go to the these committee meetings, as an invited resource person. And if I'm invited, I will certainly be there".

Mr. Parker..."I would like to say something too, because the phone call I got the day before last was an indication of where some of the people in the group were. I got a phone call from a guy in Manaki, who was not at the conference. And he first started to tell me how wonderful that it had been, and the effect of three people in Manaki and on some of the people in the community, had been astounding; and this guy was..."

Mr. Parker.... "...flying about as high as the rest of them. And the thing he said, and he wanted my assurance, is that those that have been helping to get the committee off the ground, and who have been doing a lot of work with the executive committee should be allowed to continue with them. I want your assurance that those people responsible for getting the thing off the ground are not going to withdraw at this point. That was one thing. The other one of course, is we just heard the letter that Rupert wrote, where he is basically saying a similar thing...that there has to be that kind of convenient support. I believe that the kind of very sensitive area in which we have to make our own personal decisions is:

- 1) around roles as people who have responsibility directly or indirectly to government agencies,
- 2) in terms of our role to the executive which is elected, and therefore have to assume independent responsibility,

and I think that is going to determine what we can do and how we should do it.

Mr. Hill..... "What I'm saying, is that Peter and I, and I think we should have to change that now, think it might be a good idea to consider that kind of style".

Mr. Parker... "No problem with that...I'm saying apparently even people in the executive and outside are after the resources, that this is one of their concerns".

Mr. Green.... "Okay, the concern that I have, is that you've got a bunch of fairly high powered people around this table, and I am prepared to assume the same role as I had before when I was traveling with you, Okay? - the whole presentation thing. I think there is going to be limitations on Rupert's time to be able to do that. There is certainly going to be limitations on John _____'s time, and other members of the executive. All, I'm trying to get at is that personally I am certainly willing to involve myself to the same degree if not more as before. But the thing that concerns me is that we were talking about some fairly sophisticated government ways of operating in the past half hour, if nothing else, aside from doing these work-shops and getting the information to the people, the primary role of this committee is to get the information that we have in our heads about ..."

Mr. Green.... "...how government works to the executive; but there's a problem there, there's a problem. We were all involved in creating the Steering Committee and getting it going and jumping right up to the conference, Okay? I think Jim hit it right on, that the executive was formed, that it was a collective feeling then bingo, that committee went down very quickly, which perhaps might not be as it should. The concern I want to get across is that, if that's the executive..." (at this point there was no more tape available for the recorder)

For purposes of this thesis, the tape effectively reinforces or substantiates the following points:

1. That CDers as change agents may experience role strain and role conflict associated with the performance of duties on behalf of government employees on the one hand, and oppressed client groups on the other;
2. That less than a total shift to advocacy intervention strategies by CDers, leads to severe role conflict during the intervention period;
3. That withdrawal from an advocacy role to a former rational-technical or normative-re-educative role is emotionally difficult;
4. That guilt often accompanies such withdrawal;
5. That where no professional code of ethics exists to police CDer behaviour, abuse of employer norms will occur when the client is strongly disadvantaged;
6. That where unpoliced CDers work in joint collaboration with a singular client, new, self-directing norms emerge within the group to facilitate client, not employer, needs;
7. That advocacy intervention strategies, even at the risk of employer deception, are effective techniques in achieving a more equitable distribution of resources and hence, justice.

My relationships with UCANO as at one time an attached government consultant or CDer, and another, a private CD advocate, have brought me to the following conclusions:

- CDers attached to government agencies are least effective as instruments of social change where the clients are extremely disadvantaged relative to other community groups; their effectiveness will probably depend upon their willingness to over-step their role limitations, thus risking the charge of being "unethical".
- Private CD consultants are most effective in achieving client goals because a) they are contracted to perform, usually

with the exchange of money, and clients who have to pay them for services are inclined to hold the deliverer of those services in high account; b) clients know that the knowledge and ideology brought to the interface by the CDer represent no other power-base or political interests other than his own, or that can be detected as his own from constant interactions with him. Hence, private CD consultants, who can be hired on the basis of past performance, positive referral, or public reputation, need not be suspected of advocating subtly or otherwise, values of the state or of the status quo.

- Rational-technical, normative-re-educative, and non-violent power-coercive strategies of intervention can all be used by advocate CDers who are skilled in their use, and who are willing to risk being innovative at no one's expense but their own, and who are willing to live with the public consequences of their professional irresponsibilities.
- There is no one motive that serves all purposes. Therefore, although motives are contextual, referring to real life circumstances, the CDer is obliged to expose his motives and arrange his values in a hierarchy such that the client knows approximately where their cause rests on the CDer's value ranking. CD without a motivation to assist others is a contradiction in terms. One clearly implies the other, and to assume otherwise is an act of gross professional irresponsibility. In this sense, one motive may serve all purposes in CD...altruism.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND AFTERTHOUGHTS

In many cases, the activities of scientists in small, isolated communities have been disrespectful to local people.

Patricia Roberts-Pichette, Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North, paper no. 6, Environment Canada, March, 1977, p. 5

Community Development is a young profession, attracting an increasing number of followers from many disciplines. If it is to gain the status of a publicly accountable profession, it must secure an internal code of ethics of its own, unique to CD theory and practice. Regardless of how honest, trustworthy, credible, or responsible CDers are "out there", or what model of intervention they employ, or what present code guides their activities, it still amounts to a case of a Christian using a Moslem's values; or a dentist, the norms of a lawyer.

How can the message in the above quote be corrected? Even the composite code which Roberts-Pichette later constructs may not guarantee respect to rural persons. But it's one step further than where we are now. It's a contribution, however miniscule. And at least the CDS members are discussing it of late (Appendix F).

I have attempted in this study to demonstrate the following points:

1. That there is little correspondence between the activities and characteristics of the CDS and its members, and "professionalisms" as defined earlier;

2. That CDers interact with a range of client systems, most of which can be classified in terms of their orientation to change or to stability;
3. That structural-functionalism, or more specifically, social-systems theory, is inadequate for explaining micro-level behaviours;
4. That pretenses to value-neutrality in CD and other interventions is an untenable position;
5. That moral rules are not facts but momentary, culture-bound prescriptions of conduct, contextually contingent, and easily displaced by "higher" or "lower" norms;
6. That the testing ground for CDer knowledge or value claims is praxis in the public arena, the only truly legitimate source of professional morality;
7. That intervention strategies can be successfully characterized and assessed by the three types, rational-technical, normative-re-educative, and power-coercive;
8. That Canadian CD methods suffer from an over-use of economic, rational-technical interventions;
9. That, on the whole, external change-agents are more likely to bring about the required change in the manner best for the client, than are internal change-agents;
10. That there is a need for CDers to be trained in power-coercive techniques;
11. That more research is needed concerning the roles, ethics and practices of unattached intellectuals (as social scientists, CDers, community organizers, activists);
12. That what constitutes knowledge in the social sciences, and therefore how it is used, is an undecided issue;
13. That more advocacy interventions by CDers and other social scientists are needed, to render social-science knowledge more useful in helping to solve social problems from a local viewpoint;

14. That where it is warranted by the degree of social deprivation of the client, advocacy is the more ethical intervention strategy;
15. That professional codes are necessary, even for CD advocates, in view of the reciprocal bonding of a contract or of a code's lack of specificity;
16. That no intervention ethic (teleological, utilitarian, deontological, advocacy, covenantal) is free of criticism, and therefore CDers should take this into account in constructing a code;
17. That conflict theory and exchange theory provide useful propositions to explain more clearly the micro-level context of CD interventions.

Also, I would offer as tentative hypotheses in need of empirical validation, that -

- a. The more a change-agent uses rational-technical strategies of intervention, the less will be his sensitivity to group norms;
- b. The more a change-agent uses normative-re-educative strategies of intervention, the less objective he will be about client-group needs;
- c. The more a change-agent uses advocacy strategies of intervention, the less objective he will be about social injustice;
- d. The more a change-agent uses advocacy strategies of intervention, the more ethical will be his behaviour to his client;
- e. The more social scientists adopt advocacy-intervention strategies, the more knowledge will be accessible to society.

I propose that claims of advocacy malpractice, whether against CDers or others from the social sciences, be heard not by a professional ethics committee, but by a public-science court, made up of laymen and professional peers,

adjudicated by a panel of judges. One judge would be from civil law, one from the emeritus group in the social sciences generally, and one from his own discipline.

In this way, both power and knowledge abuse would be curtailed. The social sciences would benefit from having their methodologies publicly defended (or condemned), thus sharpened to match their hypotheses and assumptions. Advocacy could then be legitimized in the eyes of purists, as being a source of knowledge or enlightenment, not as it is now, a professional cancer to be avoided at all costs.

If nothing else, the notion of an advocacy court is an interesting afterthought, containing, I feel, a great amount of unexplored merit.

I have in this thesis attempted to shed some light on many of the concepts, issues and structural factors affecting the interplay of ethics and intervention strategies in the rising "profession" of community development. There are other questions, no doubt, which need attention. But if I have stimulated the reader's curiosity to explore these matters further, then I have accomplished much of my task.

If CD theory and practice is to contribute towards a universal conception of what is social responsibility, then it ought to pay attention to some of the relationships between knowledge, ethics, strategies, and client systems.

For I have found them wanting, or insufficient, in the literature. As a professional community developer of sorts, I have a vested interest in seeing that they are at least exposed and discussed.

To the extent that this thesis has accomplished those
tasks, I rest my case.



FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

1. Larson defines Weber's independent variable of "usurpation" as "the deliberate monopolization of status symbols and the deliberate restriction of interaction with outsiders by which high-status groups set themselves apart from others" (p. 81-82). Status superiority also is shown to follow the creation of a market "monopoly", as prospective joiners seek the "higher style of life afforded to market monopolizers.
2. Contrast, for example, the functionalist writings on stratification and professionalism (e.g., Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied, New York: Free Press, 1949; Ronald Pavalko, Sociology of Occupations and professions, Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock, 1971; Melvin Tumin, Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967; Dennis Wrong, Population and Society, 4th edn., New York: Random House, 1977), with conflict perspectives (e.g., Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, New York: Monopoly Review Press, 1974; James E. Curtis and William G. Scott, Social Stratification: Canada, 2nd edn., Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1979; Lela G. Noble and Astri Suhrke, eds., Ethnic Conflict in International Relations, New York: Praeger, 1977).

3. This hypothesis has been shown to be truest (high correlation) for first, self-employed professionals, then high level managers or employed professionals, then semi-professionals down to the least supported groups, semi-skilled manual, unskilled white-collar, and unskilled manual (see Frank E. Jones, "Skill as a dimension of occupational classification", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 17, 2, 1980:176-183).
 4. Sanders (1975) incorporates the "social movement" concept into his typology of community development models. Curtis and Zurcher's definition also is amenable to application in Saul Alinsky's Rules for Radicals, New York: Random House, 1971. J. Lin Compton, "Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement: Promoting People's Participation in Rural Community Development", Journal of the Community Development Society, 13, 1 1982:83-104.
 5. One such example was the funding of the Red Lake Recreation Centre, in Northwestern Ontario. The Ministry of Culture and Recreation in 1975, gave monies to the town to have it built, but once it was up and running there were no funds available for operation costs. There had been little or no effective long-range planning, and the town was left with no alternative but to quickly raise the tax base.
 6. See the Graduate Studies calendars of the University of Alberta, the University of Guelph, and the University of Toronto (OISE - Adult Education).
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7. For a CD success story, see Roy H. MacNair, "Citizen Participation as a Balanced Exchange: An Analysis and Strategy", in Journal of the Community Development Society, 12, 1, 1981:1-20.
8. See recent (from 1979) articles appearing in the Journal of the CDS, notably Anne S. Williams, "Training Rural Citizens: An Evaluation of a Leadership Training Program", 12, 1, 1981:63-82; and Edward Blakely and Ted Bradshaw, "New Roles for Community Developers in Rural Growth Communities", 13, 2, 1982:101-120.
9. Social psychology literature, especially as it pertains to symbolic interactionism and exchange theory, reveals information which would benefit those who are particularly cast into roles of constant negotiations. See for example, Peter Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life, New York: Wiley, 1964; Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, New York: Doubleday, 1959; George Homans, Social Behaviour: Its Elementary Forms, New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1961; George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, ed. Charles W. Morris, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934; and George Simmel, Conflict, trans. Kurt H. Wolff, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.
10. This theme is further expounded upon in Delbert R. Hillers, Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969; and William F. May, "Code, covenant, contract, or philanthropy: A basis for professional ethics", Hastings Centre Report, 5, 1975:31-33.

11. See Clive Beck, Ethics:An Introduction, Toronto:McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972; Philippa Foot, Theories of Ethics, London:Oxford University Press, 1967; all of:Mike W. Martin, "Rights and the Meta-Ethics of Professional Morality", Benjamin Freedman, "What Really Makes Professional Morality Different:Response to Martin", and Mike Martin, "Professional and Ordinary Morality:A Reply to Freedman", in Ethics, 91, 4, 1981:619-631; Peter Singer, Practical Ethics, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1979; and Paul Taylor, Principles of Ethics:An Introduction, Belmont, California:Dickenson, 1975.
12. See Lee J. Cary, "The Present State of Community Development - Theory and Practice", in D. Chekki, ed. Community Development:Theory and Method of Planned Change, New Delhi:Vikas, 1979:32-46, plus any number of articles from the inception of the Journal of the Community Development Society.
13. Although not dealing strictly with the sociological or psychological aspects of Northern Ontario Life, Geofferey R. Weller's "Hinterland Politics:The Case of Northwestern Ontario" - a paper presented at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Laval University, May 30 - June 2 - offers many insights in these areas.
14. For example, see The Umex Mines Expansion Project, R.D. MacLaren and Associates, Toronto, 1975.

15. See A Lake Ranking Programme Conducted on Forty-Three Lakes in the Thunder Bay Area, by R.J. Stedwill and J. Vander Wal, Ontario Ministry of the Environment, September, 1975, or Statistical Profile:Northwestern Ontario, Economic and Development Branch, Office of Economic Policy, Ministry of Treasury and Economics, April, 1979.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

General Model for Procedural Dimension of the Community Development Process

Stage I. Resource Organization

- Policy formulation
- Creation of bureaucratic system
- Setting out guideline for operation
- Recruitment of staff
- Training of workers
- Creation of a research and evaluative system

Stage II. Engagement of Resource System with a Community Unit

- Decentralization of operations
- Local reconnaissance surveys
- Creation of local arrangements for contact, program development, and implementation

Stage III. Activating a Local Goal-Oriented System

- Creating a setting and situation for democratic discussions
- Systematic discussions of community-felt needs
- Fact-finding
- Assessment of problems
- Setting goal priorities
- Planning for action
- Implementation and resource application
- Evaluation

Stage IV. Operation of the Local System

- Organization of ongoing system
- Provision for staff and lay citizens' training in human relations and program content areas
- Establishment of an evaluative and operative research system
- Standardization of relationships with external and internal community systems for securing resources
- Development of a standard operating procedure including management and control over the operations of the system
- Establishment of a development research system to discover new problems and approaches to change
- Provision for intake of new resources from external and internal community sources through program development and management

General Model for Content (Input) Dimension of the Community Development Process

Stage I. Resource Organization

- Utilization of CD and Administration personnel to assist in organization

Schler's Process Model of Community Development

Utilization of CD and technical specialist in proposed program areas for training

Stage II. Engagement of Resource System with a Community Unit

- Use of administrative personnel in decentralizing the operation
- Use of local level workers to establish contact with communities
- Utilization of CD workers' skills on community analysis and organization

Stage III. Activating a Local Goal-Oriented System

- Utilization of communication and democratic group process skills by CD workers
- Utilization of technical specialists to aid in problem clarification and possible solutions
- Securing and employing internal and external resources
- Programming for task assignment and resources application
- Use of CD workers' human relations skills to encourage the people to act
- Review of problem-solving process to create understanding of accomplishments and possible mistakes

Stage IV. Operation of the Local System

- Utilization of organizational and system management skills
- Continuous use of research skill
- Continuous use of program planning skills
- Utilization of CD workers' skills to involve lay citizens in continuous problem-solving process
- Utilization of specialists and technicians in program areas
- Continuous use of evaluative skills and techniques

General Model for Human Interaction Dimension of the Community Development Process

Stage I. Resource Organization

- Creation of awareness and understanding of CD
- Negotiation for support
- Building a system of continuous support
- Establishing relationships for recruitment of staff
- Clarifying the purpose and procedure of operation

Stage II. Engagement of Resource System with a Community Unit

- Working out vertical relations within the bureaucratic structure
- Getting accepted in communities
- Creating an awareness and need for CD
- Talking to people to find out the problems and issues of the community and whom they look to for leadership
- Building relationships for local legitimization and sponsorship

Getting broad representation on the community participation system

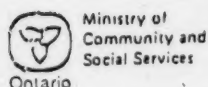
Stage III. Activating a Local Goal-Oriented System

- Allowing for broad citizen participation and involvement
- Achieving effective communication and discussion-decision processes
- Determining means for getting information from inside and outside the community
- Broadening the perspectives and self-interests
- Creating an understanding of problems and possibilities for solution
- Learning to take others into account
- Getting agreement and commitment to a specific goal for action
- Maintaining interests to work out details
- Developing realistic group aspirations for accomplishment
- Building cooperative and collaborative relationships
- Assessing personal and group successes and failures

Stage IV. Operation of the Local System

- Determining the appropriate organizational mechanism for continuous operations
- Clarifying the central purpose and function of the change system within the community structure
- Working out the system's organizational arrangement within the community and externally
- Working out an equitable representation of the various segments of the community
- Establishing ad hoc systems to broaden the base of participation
- Assuring lay citizens' involvement and group achievement to create motivation for change
- Constructive use of conflict to redirect purpose, content, or operation of the change system

Source: Daniel J. Schler, "The community development process", in Lee J. Cary, ed., *Community Development as a Process*, 1970 (Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press), 113-40.



APPENDIX B

Standard Agreement
Professional Services
Long

Agreement

Between: Her Majesty the Queen in right of Ontario as represented by
The Minister of Community and Social Services (the "Ministry")

And

TERRY L. HILL

(the "Consultant")

The Consultant agrees to provide services to the Ministry according to the following terms and conditions for the purposes of (state briefly purpose of Consultant's Services) contacting, co-ordinating, developing, implementing, facilitating and evaluating two Regional Conferences.

1. Project Title
Co-ordination Conferences for Northwestern Ontario

2. Services

The Consultant shall provide services to the Ministry in accordance with the Project Specifications attached to this agreement as Schedule 1.

3. Ministry - Consultant Relationship

The Consultant is an independent contractor providing services to the Ministry and neither the Consultant nor the employees or agents of the Consultant shall be construed as Ministry employees.

4. Personnel

Services pursuant to this Agreement shall be provided by such employees or agents of the Consultant as the Consultant deems necessary, provided that those persons named in Schedule 1 shall perform these activities assigned to them in Schedule 1. The Consultant shall not substitute alternatives for those persons named in Schedule 1 without the prior written approval of the Ministry.

5. Reports

The Consultant shall prepare and deliver in a form satisfactory to the Ministry such reports, including a Final Report, as the Ministry may require at such times as the Ministry may require. The reports shall include, but not be limited to, those reports specified in Schedule 1, to be delivered on those dates specified in Schedule 1.

6. Ownership of Materials

The Consultant agrees that all information and material of any kind whatsoever acquired or prepared by or for the Consultant pursuant to this Agreement, shall, both during and following the term of this Agreement, be the sole property of the Ministry.

7. Confidentiality

The Consultant agrees to ensure that the Consultant, its partners, directors, officers, employees, agents, and volunteers, shall both during and following the terms of this Agreement, maintain confidential and secure all material and information which is the property of the Ministry and in the possession or under the control of the Consultant pursuant to this Agreement. The Consultant agrees that the Consultant, its partners, directors, employees, agents and volunteers, shall not directly or indirectly disclose or use, either during or following the terms of this agreement, any material or information belonging to the Ministry pursuant to this agreement, without first obtaining the written consent of the Ministry of such disclosure or use.

8. Delivery of Material and Information

Upon receipt of a written request from the Ministry, the Consultant agrees to deliver forthwith to the Ministry all material and information specified in the request which is the property of the Ministry and in the possession or under the control of the Consultant. No copy or duplicate of any such material or information delivered to the Ministry shall be retained by the Consultant without the prior written approval of the Ministry. The Consultant further agrees not to destroy any material or information which is the property of the Ministry without the Ministry's prior written approval. This clause survives the expiration or termination of this agreement.

9. Financial Records

The Consultant shall maintain proper financial records and books of accounts respecting services provided pursuant to this agreement. The Consultant agrees that these financial records and books of account may be inspected by the Ministry both during and following the terms of the agreement.

10. Indemnification -

The Consultant shall both during and following the terms of this agreement indemnify and save harmless the Ministry from all costs, losses, damages, judgements, claims, demands, suits, actions or other proceedings in any manner based upon, occasioned by or attributable to anything done or omitted to be done by the Consultant, its partners, directors, officers, employees, agents or volunteers in connection with services provided, purported to be provided or required to be provided by the Consultant pursuant to this agreement.

11. Insurance

The Consultant shall obtain and maintain in full force and effect during the term of this agreement comprehensive general liability insurance acceptable to the Ministry in an amount of not less than \$500,000.00 per occurrence in respect of the services provided by the Consultant pursuant to this agreement. The insurance policy shall include as an additional insured "Her Majesty the Queen in right of Ontario as represented by the Minister of Community and Social Services" in respect of and during services performed by the Consultant pursuant to this agreement, shall contain a cross-liability clause endorsement and shall contain a clause including liability arising out of contract or agreement. The Consultant shall submit to the Ministry, upon request, proof of insurance.

12. Invoicing

The Consultant agrees to submit to the Ministry, in a form satisfactory to the Ministry, invoices itemizing actual services rendered and expenses incurred. Invoices shall be submitted in accordance with Ministry instructions.

13. Cost

The Ministry shall pay the Consultant a Maximum Amount not to exceed \$ 14,000.00

The Maximum Amount shall include:

- a) Up to \$ 10,000.00 for Fees for services rendered, as specified in the Budget attached to this agreement as Schedule 2, and
- b) Up to \$ 4,000.00 for Expenses as specified in the Budget.

The Consultant may, with the prior written approval of the Ministry, transfer funds between individual Budget line items, as set out in Schedule 2, provided that in no case shall the Maximum Amount be exceeded.

14. 10% Hold-Back

The Consultant agrees that the Ministry shall withhold from each payment 10% of the amount invoiced for Fees until such time as the Ministry from time to time determines or until the Ministry approves the Final Report.

15. Term of The Agreement

This agreement shall be in force from 1st Jan. 1982 and expire either upon 31st March 1982
day month year

or upon the date the Ministry approves the Final Report, whichever is later.

16. Early Termination

Notwithstanding section 15 the Ministry reserves the right to terminate this agreement without cause prior to its expiration, upon such conditions as the Ministry may require, on a minimum of 14 days' written notice to the Consultant. If the Ministry terminates the agreement prior to its expiration, the Ministry shall only be responsible for the payment of expenditures incurred in connection with the agreement up to and including the date of any such termination.

17. Conflict of Interest

The Consultant agrees that the Consultant, its partners, directors, officers, employees, agents, and volunteers shall not provide any services to the Ministry or any person, group, or organization funded, in whole or in part, by the Ministry where the provision of such services, actually or potentially, creates a conflict of interest with the provision of services pursuant to this agreement, without the Consultant first disclosing to the Ministry the actual or potential conflict of interest with the Ministry.

18. Assignment

The Consultant shall not assign this agreement, or any part thereof, without the prior written approval of the Ministry, which approval may be:

- a) withheld by the Ministry in its sole discretion, or
- b) given subject to such terms and conditions as the Ministry may require.

19. Waiver

The failure by the Ministry to insist in one or more instances upon the performance by the Consultant of any of the terms or conditions of this agreement shall not be construed as a waiver of the Ministry's right to require the future performance of any such terms or conditions, and the obligations of the Consultant with respect to such future performance shall continue in full force and effect.

20. Entirety

All the terms and conditions of Schedules 1 and 2 are incorporated into this agreement except where they are inconsistent with this agreement. This agreement and the attached Schedules embody the entire agreement with regard to the matters dealt with and supersede any understanding or agreement, collateral, oral or otherwise, existing between the parties at the date of execution.

This agreement has been executed under seal by the Consultant and by the authorized signing official of the Ministry of Community and Social Services on 5 January 1982
day month year

Witness

By: _____
On behalf of the Ministry of
Community and Social Services

Witness
or affix corporate seal

By: _____
BY SIGNATURE OF THE CONSULTANT
TERRY L. HILL

APPENDIX C

CONFERENCE FORMAT

OBJECTIVES:

Sept., 1975

Create a format supporting cohesion and "unanimity" among delegates.

Provide the opportunity for receiving information and inputting "solutions" by delegates.

Encourage the formation of a regional association.

PRIORIZED LIST OF PROBLEMS DEALING BASICALLY WITH THE LACK OF SERVICES:

Group 1

Rural planning, zoning and land subdivision
Information distribution
Fire protection
Water and sewage
Recreation and creative leisure
Future of Bill 102.

Group 2

Housing
Controlled growth and development
Political and "corporate" voice
Taxation control
Communications (media) for rural communities
Future trends for small rural communities.

Group 3

Software services
Hydro and electricity
Garbage disposal
Local roads
Agriculture.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

5:00 p.m. REGISTRATION
7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. SUPPER
8:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

Words of welcome. Discussion of
format, goals, etc.

Future trends for Unorganized
Communities: Rupert Ross (Minaki).

Film: "Promises, promises" (with
an introduction by J. Hyder -NFB)

Discussion related to the futures
of Unorganized Communities.

Film: "Brothers Bern".

11:00 p.m. - 1:00 a.m. SOCIALIZING

Open bar, films and/or special
caucuses.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1975

8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. BREAKFAST
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS - 4 Sections: Themes
-Rural planning and land use.
-Fire protection.
-Water and sewage.
(All themes for all groups).
10:30 a.m. - 10:45 a.m. COFFEE BREAK
10:45 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS - 4 Sections:

Formulation of concerns, ques-
tions, and resolutions based on
the themes.

11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

Panel - Ministry of Housing-K. Bauman
Official Plan-D. McKay
Solicitor General-Mr. Bateman
Ministry of the Environment-
F. Wright

½ Hr. - Group Spokespersons: air concerns and solutions to the panel.

½ Hr. - Panel responds with the Chairpersons encouraging the panel to "Think Solution".

12:30 p.m.- 2:00 p.m. WORKING LUNCH

"Information Distribution in Unorganized Communities"-Northern Affairs speaker.

2:00 p.m.- 3:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS (4 sections) - Themes:

Information distribution.
Media for rural communities.
Recreation and creative leisure.
Software services.

3:00 p.m.- 3:30 p.m. PLENARY COFFEE BREAK

"Community Newspapers for Rural Area"-
Bob McNally (Minaki).

3:30 p.m.- 4:15 p.m. WORKSHOPS (4 sections)

Formulation of concerns, questions
and resolutions based on themes.

4:15 p.m.- 5:15 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

Panel - Bob McNally
Culture and Recreation-Doug Clarke
Community and Social Services-Mickey G.
Northern Affairs-Don Miles-John Frost

½ Hr. - Group Spokespersons: air concerns and solutions to the panel.

½ Hr. - Panel responds with the Chairpersons encouraging the panel to "Think Solution".

6:00 p.m.- 8:00 p.m. BANQUET

"The Future of Bill 102"-D. Illingworth
"Alternatives to Bill 102"-P. Globensky

8:00 p.m.-10:00 p.m. WORKSHOPS (4 sections) - Themes:B.McKay

The Future of Bill 102.
Controlled growth and development.
Taxation control.
"Corporate" and political voice in the
Unorganized Communities.

10:00 p.m..... ENTERTAINMENT

Also films; special caucuses.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1975

8:00 a.m.- 9:30 a.m. BREAKFAST

9:00 a.m.- 9:30 a.m. COMMUNAL SERVICE

9:30 a.m.-10:30 a.m. SPECIALIZED WORKSHOPS (optional)

- (a) Hydro and electricity
 - (b) Garbage collection and disposal
 - (c) Housing
 - (d) Local roads
 - (e) Agriculture
 - (f)
 - (g)
- or

SPECIAL CAUCUSES

10:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m. PLENARY COFFEE BREAK

"The Role of Resolutions" - Committee Spokespersons.

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. (1) WORKSHOPS - To finalize resolutions
(2) PLENARY - To discuss and adopt.

12:30 p.m.- 1:30 p.m. LUNCH

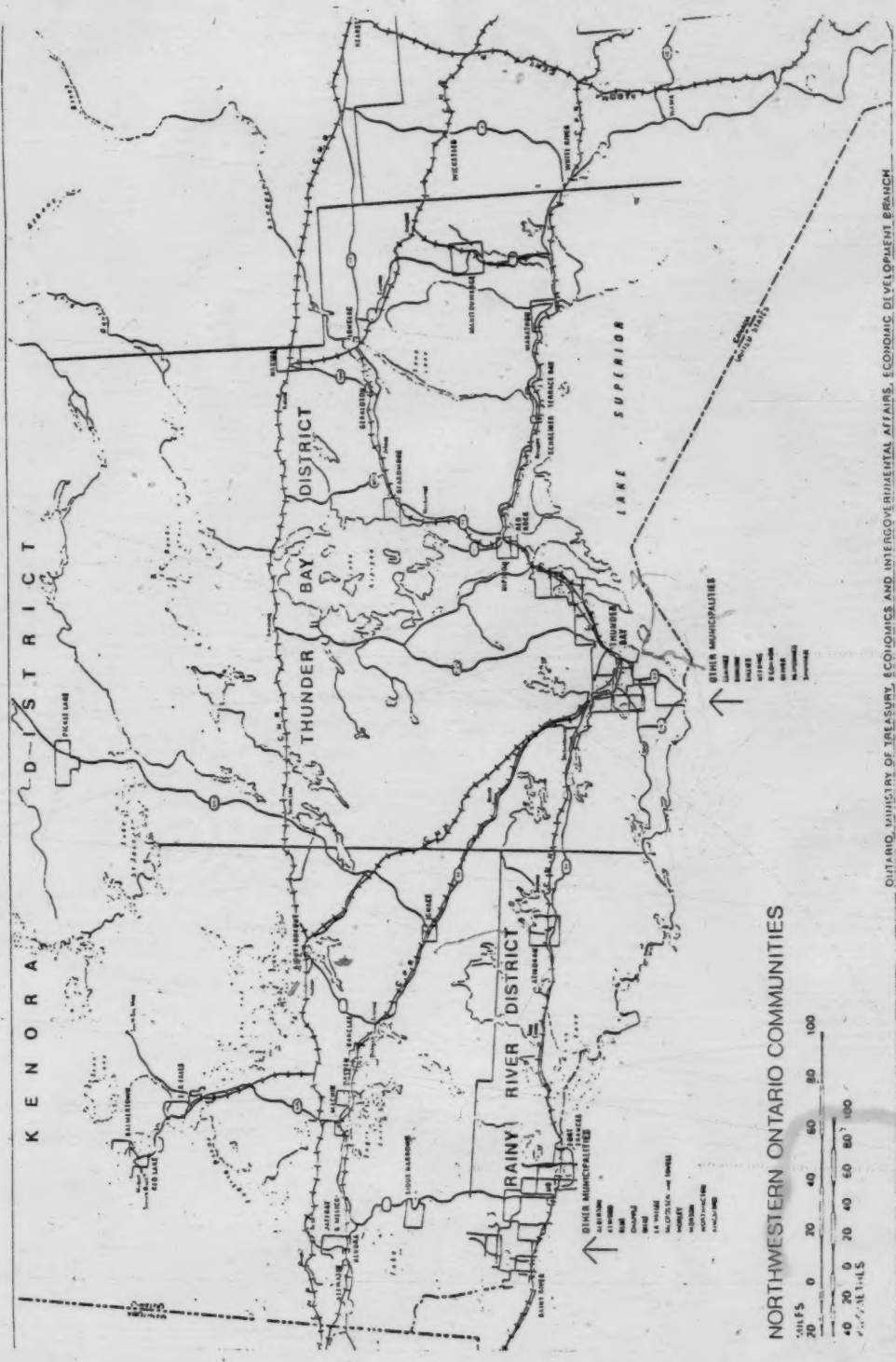
"The Potential of an 'Association' "- Committee Spokesperson

1:30 p.m.- 3:30 p.m. PLENARY SESSION

Formats for Association.
Discussion potential.
Decision.
Election of officers.

CLOSING REMARKS

APPENDIX D



ONTARIO, MINISTRY OF TREASURY, ECONOMICS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BRANCH

APPENDIX E

The Chronicle-Journal

Published by Canadian Newspapers Company, Limited
75 Cumberland St., Thunder Bay, Ontario
F. M. Dundas, Publisher
Michael Grieve, Managing Editor

Wednesday, December 16, 1981

UCANO has served its purposes well

The Unorganized Communities Association of Northern Ontario-West (UCANO) is being dissolved without the proper recognition it deserves for what has been accomplished in its six-year existence.

In fact, in announcing that the board of directors had approved a resolution to surrender its charter, the organization was extremely modest in detailing some of the advantages won for citizens of isolated areas.

Numerous groups and organizations, in fact, which have long since outlived any useful purpose they might once have served, could profit from the example of UCANO, formed to fulfill a need; performed that purpose and is about to disappear as forthrightly as it came into being in September, 1975.

UCANO was formed at conclusion of a conference in Thunder Bay by representatives of about 30 unorganized communities invited to discuss possible implications of a proposed Northern Communities Act. The group subsequently obtained a charter, and rather than attempt to make its presence felt by volunteer effort, sought and received government funding to pay a chairman and secretary-treasurer who could devote full time to its activities. It has never looked back.

In fact, its main reason for the unanimous decision to disband is that its promotions have been almost too successful. The delegates agreed at their recent wind-up meeting here that the Ministry of Northern Affairs can respond more efficiently to needs of the communities UCANO was formed to serve. There was nothing said about the fact that this ministry, headed by Kenora MLA Leo Bernier, came into being in 1977 partly in response to UCANO's lobbying efforts.

As the organization has pointed out, its original purpose was to establish communication and consultation between the unorganized communities; to research problems

and provide a support base for communities in dealing with concerns and issues; and to act as an advocate to protect the natural environment and lifestyle of small communities.

Consider what it has accomplished — in addition to helping impress upon the provincial government the need for a separate ministry to speak for northern citizens in cabinet.

—It has been responsible for creation of the isolated communities assistance fund;

—It has advocated and won approval of a comprehensive smoke detector program in isolated areas across the region, as a result of which countless lives may have been saved over the past few years.

—It has co-authored the Local Service Boards Act which allows formation of local boards where there is obvious need, with power to levy taxes for services, and provides those same centres access to a wide range of provincial government programs previously unavailable.

—The group has been instrumental in preventing possible school closures in several areas.

—It has provided an opportunity to communities to learn leadership skills and organizational development.

—It has been successful in demonstrating the need for fire protection in unorganized communities and has won much positive response to that need. In July of this year, for example, the northern affairs minister announced that seven unorganized communities in the Dryden area were being assisted in setting up a volunteer fire department, where none had existed previously.

UCANO has good reason to be proud of what it has accomplished for a long-ignored segment of the provincial population. Those who have led the organization to successful fulfilment of its mandate should not be permitted to fade from the scene. Their experience should be utilized in other endeavors.

APPENDIX F

10:00 a.m. - Coffee Break

10:30-12:00 noon - Concurrent Sessions

Critical Issues for Community Development in the '80s, Ron Rutledge, Organizer

Action Research: Rogers on Program Efforts, Maria Russell, Chair

Crisis Prevention and the Client's Role, Joseph Dornesmyer, Chair

Program Planning for Conference '81, D. Todd Cook, Chair

Accreditation and the Community Development Society Role, Tom Elwell, Chair

12:00 noon - Formal Luncheon

1:00- 3:30 p.m. - Board of Directors Meeting

PROGRAM NOTES

1. Full program available after June 15, will be mailed to all listed in it - conveners, presenters, reactors.
2. Complete addresses of chairpersons for sessions available in roster printed in the Fall '80 Journal.
3. An employment fair will be held throughout the conference.
4. Editors of Vanguard and the Journal will have a booth all week also.



COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT
SOCIETY

Annual Meeting
And Conference

AUGUST 2-6, 1981
HERSHEY CONFERENCE CENTER
HERSHEY, PENNSYLVANIA

"COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
ISSUES & POSSIBILITIES"

SUNDAY, AUGUST 2, 1981

1:00 - 3:00 p.m. - Registration
Conference Lobby
2:00 p.m. - Board Meeting
President Marie Arnot, Chair
(Membership Welcome)
Committee Chairs will report to the
Board on Sunday or Monday.
6:00 p.m. - Board Members & Spouses
Social Activity

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1981

8:30-11:00 a.m. - Board Meeting
President Marie Arnot, Chair
10:00-3:30 p.m. - Committees Meet
(Room locations posted in the
conference center lobby).
11:00-1:00 p.m. - Board Liaison(s)
Meet with Committees(s)
10:00-8:00 p.m. - Registration
(Lobby of conference center)
1:15-5:00 p.m. - Board Meeting
President Marie Arnot, Chair
Committee Reports

5:30 p.m. - Fellowship Reception

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1981

7:30 a.m. - Breakfast
(optional)
8:00-4:00 p.m. - Registration
Conference Lobby
Registration and information desk
open all day.
8:15 a.m. - General Assembly, Theatre
Welcome and Opening
Sam Leadley & Joe Miller
Keynote: Emerging Federal Public
Policy and its Effect on Community
Development (Speaker not yet con-
firmed) Bob Doyle, organizer.

9:15 a.m.
Breakfast
The Many Perspectives
(Followed by question and answer ses-
sions from the participants)

10:00 a.m. - Coffee and Danish

10:30 a.m. - Concurrent Sessions
Working with Low Income and Minorities
Louis Thaxton, Chair
Funding and Program Support for CD
Research, Lucille Gill, Chair

Precycling Community Development in
Urban Areas, Belden Peelson, Chair
Chapter Development and Programming,
J. Douglas McAllister, Chair

Will Certifying CD Professionals Make
a Difference? Harvey Shelton, Chair
Typical Networks
D. Todd Cook, Chair

1:30 p.m. - Concurrent Sessions
Networking and Learning From Others,
Eileen Guthrie, Chair
Ethical Issues in Community Develop-
ment, Ron Nustedde, Chair

Attitude and Value Surveys and Their
Role in Community Development, Terry
Machney, Chair
Economic Development, Community
Development, and Local Growth
Management, Bob Hughes, Chair
Relationship between CD Theory, Re-
search, and Practice, Ron Powers,
Chair

Employment Fair (For those looking to
hire or to be hired, suite to be posted)

3:00-3:30 p.m. - Refreshments

2:30-5:00 p.m. - Concurrent Sessions
Community Development in Central
Pennsylvania, Joe Miller and Joan
Thomson, Chairs

Community Energy Planning: The Role
of Consultants, Local Organizations,
and State Agencies

Historic Preservation: Adaptive Reuse
of Community Facilities and Physical
Structures

Small Town Development: The Small
Town Emphasis Program and Other
Examples of Technical Assistance.

Job Retention and Job Development:
A Collaborative Effort to Deal With
Dislocations due to Plant/Business
Shutdown.

5:00-7:30 p.m. - Dinner
(On your own)

7:30 p.m.

Employment in Community Development:
Sectoral and Regional Employment
Ability, Abe Snyder, Chair

Community Advisory Council Training:
Training Modules that Work, Bruce
Sorier, Chair

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1981

7:00-8:15 a.m. - Breakfast
Topical Networks
D. Todd Cook, Chair

8:00-12:00 noon - Registration
Conference Lobby

8:30 a.m. - Business Meeting
President Marie Arnot

10:00 a.m. - Coffee and Danish

10:30-12:00 noon - Concurrent Sessions
Role of State Community Betterment
Programs in Local Community Develop-
ment, Tim Shaunty, Chair

Community Colleges and Community
Development, David Dickson, Chair
Community Education: A Vehicle for
Community Development, Ron Nustedde,
Organizer

Community Revitalization: Room and
Bust Towns, the Community Development
Educator's Role, Dennis Donack, Chair

12:00 noon - Lunch
(On your own)

Do Low Income Groups in Central
Pennsylvania Community Development
Sites? Larry Gann and Guy Temple,
Chairs

Rural Human Services Innovations
(Millersburg & Elizabethtown)
Downtown & Neighborhood Development
(Harrisburg)

Three Mile Island: Emergency Response
and Aftermath (Middletown)

Small City Redevelopment (Lebanon)

5:30-8:30 p.m. - Pennsylvania Dutch
Dinner, Ken Martin, Chair

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1981

7:00-8:15 a.m. - Breakfast
(On your own)

A good time for committee work

8:00-10:00 a.m. - Registration
Conference Lobby

8:30 a.m. - Concurrent Sessions

Partners for Progress: The Role of
Public, Private, and Citizen Resources
in Community Development, Howard
Schrotter, Chair

Citizen Participation: Empowering the
Citizen, Delmar Yoder, Chair

Student Research Papers, Maria Russell,
Chair

Citizen Options in the Era of Cutback
Management, Don Lucy, Chair